Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-95-034 *21 February 1995*

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Czech, Slovak Ministers Discuss Customs Union

AU2002123695 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 9 Feb 95 p 4

[Interview with Slovak Finance Minister Sergej Kozlik and Czech Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik by Alena Melicharkova; place and date not given: "What Happens Next in the Customs Union"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A meeting of the Czech and Slovak Customs Union Council was held recently in Casta-Papiernicka; tasks for the two republics' deputy prime ministers and finance ministers in particular are what emerged from it. In connection with resolving some of the issues regarding the continued existence of the customs union between the Czech and Slovak Republics, we asked Slovak Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister Sergej Kozlik and Czech Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik a few questions.

The Slovak Version

[Melicharkova] To date, relations between the Czech and Slovak Republics have also been reflected in the state budget. You attended a meeting of the Customs Union Council recently. A questionmark hangs over the fate of the payments agreement, which it seems is unacceptable on the Czech side...

[Kozlik] There is a batch of issues here. The fact is, the payments agreement is definitely in an ideal state for discussion and seeking certain changes. But, they should be bilateral. At the moment, the possibility of a 5.0-percent variation from the clearing ECU—which we have made full use of—is disadvantageous for the Czech side. We are continuing this even at a time when the overall balance of trade between the Czech and Slovak Republics is favorable to the Slovak Republic. It has already been forgotten that the Czech side did the same thing to us a year ago; it was not willing to retreat from its position and it also made full use of the payments agreement mechanism. On the other hand, the old bloc [payments from before 8 February 1993], on which we lose out, is disadvantageous for us. That is, it would be possible to formulate an agreement according to which we could retreat from the 5.0-percent variation in clearing and the Czech side could back down adequately in the issue of abolishing the old bloc. So, we can both make concessions and we can both win or we will squabble with each other and we will both lose. Another matter, from the point of view of advantageousness or disadvantageousness, is whether to have a clearing mechanism at all. From the point of view of the Finance Ministries in particular, it is not advantageous if the country with a surplus covers, by means of the state budget, the deficit situation of the other country and thus gives it credit. Or, the country in a deficit situation, because it has exceeded the clearing limit, pays in hard currency for its own exporters. On the other hand, clearing makes payment possible without using convertible currencies. It is always necessary to weigh up the pros and cons. I am not an advocate of radical solutions, and not of the one that we should abolish the clearing relationship immediately. However, it is possible to improve it by proceeding, from the point of view of the variations, more correctly in the future and by abolishing the old bloc through which fictitious payments are being made.

[Melicharkova] However, the issue of mutual economic and trade relations does not end here...

[Kozlik] You mean the problem of the mutual recognition of certificates and also the acknowledgment of sensitive items in imports and exports. It is not altogether possible to accede to a mutual agreement on recognizing certificates and permit a surge of foodstuffs from the Czech Republic and so, in a way, place our own production at risk and allow them to be foisted on us from the other side. This does not happen even in the European Union. There are also sensitive items there that are the subject of agreements and measures. We have something to refer to. Liberalism has no place here. Our partners will also have to understand this, because, otherwise, they will get used to finding barriers of a different nature. A pest or some chemicals can always be found. But, if we were to reach such an understanding, then it would not be mutually satisfying and it would cost both sides more.

[Melicharkova] Looking ahead, however, we will also have to transfer to different conditions for protecting consumers.

[Kozlik] Careful, despite the matters referred to above, such protection must be valid. On the other hand, the Austrians and Slovenes, for example, have determined how many liters of beer their importers can import. If we make similar specifications in sensitive items, then we will not be compelled to take measures forcibly. Shall we say, if someone wants to, he will always find a pest and his partner gets into far greater difficulties. For example, in spring, the Italians will always find something in kids and so on. Therefore, it is better to agree on global measures or regulations. In keeping with this, we have tried to convince the Czech side. We will, of course, continue in this. I am inclined to believe that we will reach an agreement, because it is in the interest of the two sides to maintain the customs union.

[Melicharkova] [Czech Trade and Industry Minister] Mr. Dlouhy also commented on the not altogether identical orientation of trade policy in the Czech and Slovak Republics...

[Kozlik] Perhaps, he meant that the Czech Republic could transfer sooner to the full convertibility of its currency. This could, but would not have to, mean something of this nature. If this happens, there will no longer be a clearing relationship between the two countries. Incidentally, it did not even have to exist at present. If we are talking about clearing and not about using convertible currencies in mutual trade, then it is only because the two countries are still fragile with regard to their foreign currency situation. We favor more cautious approaches. Some Czech officials feel strong,

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but the battle over transformation has still not been completely won even in their country.

The View From the Other Side of the Morava River

[Melicharkova] In connection with the payments agreement between the Czech and Slovak Republics, many views about its disadvantageousness are being expressed in expert circles in the Czech Republic. What is your view?

[Kocarnik] It is not possible to define it as one-sidedly as that. It is obvious that we will discuss its future and also whether to abandon it at a convenient moment or make changes in it. At the moment, I would not like to say what kind of changes. This will be preceded by an analysis on both sides. Then, I will meet with Mr. Kozlik and, obviously, we will find a solution. The payments agreement issue is a rational one. If I were to put it simply, then the Slovak consumer is paying for the utilization of the 5.0-percent variation in the clearing account. If the 5.0-percent variation were not utilized, products from the Czech Republic would be 5.0-percent cheaper for him than they are at the moment. This measure on the Slovak side has led to a situation whereby Czech exports to Slovakia have been replaced by imports of products from the European Union. This is now an established fact that bothers us very much.

[Melicharkova] A great deal is also being said about the mutual interlinking of the two economies and their dependence on one another in connection with the further existence of the customs union. Some experts on the Czech side are forecasting the abolition of the customs union...

[Kocarnik] I think that a process like price liberalization or global transformation has turned mutual dependency slightly on its head. New price relations have been formed. The thing called dependency was under the conditions of the prices formed within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Under conditions in which prices have been liberalized, it does not have to apply at all that what was made for years in Slovakia is less effective, unable to compete, and so on. In many cases, it is now obvious that this is not so. No matter how things were perceived a priori at the beginning of the 1990's, other things are now becoming apparent. The 40-percent rise in exports from Slovakia testifies to something. If these were inefficient capacities, where could these exports be going? And, as far as the customs union is concerned, I think that the two sides are interested in it and are not casting doubt on it.

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KShH Protests 'Barbarous Act' at University

AU1802184495 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 18 Feb 95

[Statement by the Albanian Helsinki Committee issued in Tirana on 18 February]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Albanian Helsinki Committee [KShH] strongly protests the criminal act of killing young Emin Abdyl Selmani on 17 February and wounding several others during the inauguration ceremony of the Albanian University committed by the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] police and state authorities in Tetovo

The KShH denounces this barbarous act and calls on international institutions to denounce such practices, which are making their way in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and which trample fundamental human rights such as the right to live and to receive an education in one's mother tongue. Such a criminal act against the Albanian population—which according to official sources makes up 20 percent, and according to nonofficial ones 40 percent—not reveals reveals that The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is ignoring international standards of human rights but that, with such acts, it could create other inter-Balkan tensions with consequences for the whole peninsula and beyond.

The KShH supports the Albanian population's legitimate wish to have its own university and calls on the Macedonian authorities to stop the attacks and to create the necessary democratic space for the ethnic Albanians in this republic.

The Democratic Party of the Right, the Laberia Association, and others have also launched protests against this criminal act.

Government Calls Event Criminal

AU1802184195 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 18 Feb 95

[Statement by the Albanian Government's spokesman in Tirana on 18 February]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 17 February in Recice e Vogel village near Tetovo, the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] police, under the pretext that many inhabitants had begun to gather, surrounded the Natural Sciences building of Tetovo University and started to fire first into the air, then on people, and then in the direction of nearby houses.

According to news agencies, the Macedonian police killed one Albanian, wounded 15, and arrested many others. Entry into Tetovo was blocked and strict control was established. The police also blocked the road connecting Tetovo with Popovo of Shapke while an emergency situation was announced in Recice in the presence of police and military patrols equipped with heavy weapons and accompanied by armored cars.

The Albanian public is deeply indignant at this chauvinist act of violence against Albanians and their legitimate rights. Despite the fact that, proceeding from the desire to see a stable Macedonia as a factor of peace and security in the Balkans, the Albanian Government has always offered to help Macedonia at difficult times, and that Macedonian President Gligorov has not spared his promises to improve the situation of Albanians' rights—for example, education in their mother tongue—armed police, and not dialogue and understanding, were opposed to the Albanian population.

The Albanian state has more than once made it clearthat the mutual interests of both countries and calm and stability in our region require respect for the legitimate rights of Albanians—that is: the right of education in the mother tongue at a higher level—the negation of which speaks for a policy of assimilation and an attempt to leave the Albanians in cultural and educational darkness.

Brutal actions by Macedonian police authorities against the peaceful Albanian population, the terror perpetrated against the Albanians, and the loss of their lives reveal that the elements of an anti-Albanian police state are still alive in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, something that is pregnant with dangers and grave consequences in interethnic relations if their way is not blocked in time. Nationalism and aggressive and anachronic chauvinism serve neither the relations between Albanians and Macedonians nor peace and the very delicate stability in the region.

The Albanian Government declares that, in conformity with international acts and judicial and moral principles and norms, it is the incontestable right of the Albanian Government, and that of the Albanian state and its representatives, to demand that the rights of the Albanian population in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia be respected. The Albanian Government welcomes the achievements in this direction and denounces every violation, act of violence, and injustice at the expense of Albanians.

No insinuation or departure from this reality by every dark force that seeks to set Albanian-Macedonian interethnic relations on fire will be able to divert the Albanian Government and state from their obligation to demand respect for international acts regarding the protection of the human and national rights of Albanians in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and contribute to the security of peace and stability in the region.

The Albanian Government considers the event a violent criminal act that could have destabilizing consequences and that should be punished. It demands that the Macedonian Government take measures to respect the rights of Albanians on the basis of international conventions and obligations.

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Delegation Returns From Russia; Agreement Signed

AU1802160395 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 17 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Albanian Interior Ministry delegation presided over by Minister Agron Musaraj has returned home. During its stay in Russia, a bilateral agreement was signed on cooperation in the fight against crime, particularly drugs, dirty money, radioactive matter, etc.

At the meeting with his counterpart Yerin, Musaraj underlined that the face of criminality in Eastern countries seems to be nearly the same and that mutual experience is necessary.

Mr. Musaraj stated that the signing of this agreement will be an impulse for further boosting relations in economy and a security for businessmen of both countries.

Mr. Yerin assured that the agreement will not remain remain simply an official act but will find a large implementation in practice.

Specialists of both delegations discussed real possibilities of implementing this agreement.

During its stay in Russia, the Albanian delegation visited Smolensk area. At meetings with high-level authorities of this area, Mr. Musaraj talked about the establishment of local power and the way it functions. They discussed issues dealing with economic, administrative, and institutional reforms in the two countries and exchanged experiences.

During its stay in Moscow and Smolensk, the delegation visited important centers of Russian culture and history.

Greek Embassy: Relations Need Improvement

AU1802155395 Tirana ALTRENATIVA SD in Albanian 14 Feb 95 p 7

[Interview with Khristo Faliadhis, press spokesman at the Greek Embassy in Tirana, by Rezart Jasa; date not given: "A Serious Stand by Albanian Justice on a Domestic Issue"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The release of the Omonoia members was a serious stand taken by the Albanian judiciary on a domestic issue. An important factor for the Greek side was the termination of the plight of these people. Through Mr. Venizelos, Greek Foreign Ministry spokesman, The Greek Government, too, hailed the Supreme Court's decision. Their release, notwithstanding the internal judicial problems that might have arisen, is a positive thing and the Greek Government acclaims it as a good chance to improve and ease frozen Albanian-Greek relations. At the same time, in an interview to Greek television, Foreign Minister Papoulias said he was willing to visit Tirana. I think that the Albanian and Greek sides will sit at the negotiating table and resolve the existing problems between them. The Greek side has many proposals in the sphere of mutual cooperation; and above all, both sides will discuss the problems of greatest interest to them.

[Jasa] One of the most intractable problems last year and at the beginning of this year was the deportation of thousands of Albanian refugees from Greece and the drastic cut in the number of visas issued to Albanians by the Greek Embassy in Tirana. Why did that happen?

[Faliadhis] One and a half years ago now, the Greek Government, in the interest of both sides, proposed several ways of resolving the problem of the seasonal employment of Albanians in Greece. Most of the Albanian refugees are illegal and the issuing of a visa does not necessarily imply that employment is automatically secured. Greece is a state with an explicit juridical basis. However, the Greek Embassy in Tirana has never stopped giving visas to Albanians, while Greek journalist and businessmen complain that the Albanian Embassy in Athens is providing them with visas. [as published] As far as Albanian employment in Greece in concerned, one should keep in mind that the Greek legislation complies with the European legislation on this point. Both sides must gain the lost time through faster steps and become closer to each other. The Greek side is ready for business and trade in Albania.

[Jasa] Are there any anti-Albanian sentiments in the Greek Government?

[Faliadhis] No. At one time, there was a mass movement against the high level of crime among the Albanians, but never antipathy. The heartfelt feeling of the Greek people is to never lose their friend, the Albanian people. It is necessary to improve and advance Albanian-Greek relations.

PSSh Leaders Meet With British Officials

AU2002132095 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 14 Feb 95 p 1

[Statement issued by the PSSh Press Office: "A Meeting With British Representatives"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Last Sunday, on 12 February 1995, Ilir Meta, deputy chairman of the Socialist Party of Albania [PSSh], and Maqo Lakrori, member of the Presidency of the PSSh, received at the headquarters of the General Steering Committee Mr. Anthony Smith, deputy director of the Eastern Adriatic Section of the [British] Foreign Office, and Mr. Stephen Nash, British charge d'affaires to Tirana. During this meeting, Meta and Lakrori explained to their British guests the PSSh's views and positions on current political and economic developments and their prospects in Albania. Among the topics discussed during the conversation were the constitution issue, the Nano affair, developments in the Balkans, and other problems of foreign relations.

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Greek Defense Minister in Sofia on Official Visit

AU2102105595 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] This morning, a Greek military delegation arrived on an official visit at the invitation of the Defense Ministry. The delegation is led by Greek Defense Minister Yerasimos Arsenis.

According to the preliminary program, Arsenis will be received by President Zhelyu Zhelev and Prime Minister Zhan Videnov and will have meetings with Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov and Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski. Tomorrow, the Greek defense minister will deliver a lecture to Defense Ministry and General Staff officers.

Zhelev-BSP Relations: 'Lull Before the Storm'

AU1702102995 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 14 Feb 95 p 9

[Article by Todor Tokin: "Relations Between Dr. Zhelev and the BSP Resemble Ebbs and Flows; the Present Stage Is the Lull Before the Storm"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Zhan Videnov did not go to the airport to wish the president success on his visit to the United States but instead sent his deputy without portfolio, Svetoslav Shivarov. On 3 January, not yet prime minister but leader of the party that won the elections, Videnov made Dr. Zhelev wait 15 minutes for his arrival at the White House [the presidency building]. On that occasion, the future prime minister said: "Privately, Dr. Zhelev congratulated me on the election victory, but he should have done so publicly." The president retaliated by not attending the National Assembly session at which Videnov read the declaration of his government's program. Dr. Zhelev preferred to depart for the Auschwitz liberation anniversary a day earlier than planned just in order to avoid being in Sofia when the parliamentary majority crowned the Socialist government.

Relations between president and governing party when the president does not belong to that party are an interesting case. In this context Dr. Zhelev resembles Bill Clinton (whom he is visiting now), and Francois Mitterrand (Dr. Zhelev's friend since the time of the dissidents' breakfast and his French-speaking brother). All three heads of state have a parliament with a majority belonging to a party other than their own.

Dr. Zhelev was elected president by the Grand National Assembly on 1 August 1990 with the support of part of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. Since then, his relations with the BSP have been a matter of ebbs and flows. In 1991, the president said that blood would flow if the BSP won the elections. A year later, after Boyana Meadows [August 1992 news conference that prompted the fall of Filip Dimitrov's cabinet], it appeared that relations between Dr. Zhelev and the BSP had improved. [Former National Assembly chairman] Stefan Savov and Filip Dimitrov were subsequently toppled. The BSP supported the cabinet of presidential adviser Professor Berov. However, BSP headquarters continued to be wary of the liberal president. The BSP occasionally accused him of preparing a dictatorship in an attempt to implement the tenets of his book "Fascism," and of exceeding his prerogatives. "He wants to be the president of transition, but he is actually a transitional president," Zhan Videnov said on one occasion.

To top it all off, the BSP asked that the Constitution be amended so as to deprive the president of one of his few rights, the right to appoint a caretaker cabinet. Indeed, already, earlier, when the Grand National Assembly, dominated by the Socialists debated the new Constitution, some 20 proposals related to presidential rights had been dropped from the chapter dealing with the presidency and exclusively representative prerogatives had been left to him. This was so because the Socialists knew that they were not debating the general prerogatives of the president but the prerogatives of the specific person who already was president.

Zhan Videnov described the activity of the caretaker cabinet as a "presidential adventure." Nevertheless, at least for the time being, the prime minister is implementing the "legacy of Indzhova's cabinet": The prices of gasoline and mazut have been increased. The Dzherman-Skakavitsa water project continues to be constructed. Despite the fact that Videnov promised chief editors that on his first day as prime minister he would abolish the 10-percent tax that the caretaker cabinet had slapped on those engaged in the liberal professions, taxing their royalties in advance, he has still not done this.

The present lull in Zhelev-BSP relations augurs a storm. The BSP began its mandate precisely as the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] did: by amending the bills on restitution and on the land, and the "Panev" bill. All those amendments must be signed by the president prior to being published in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK and entering into effect. Observers think Dr. Zhelev is hardly likely to agree to the amendments, especially after signing a law that has precisely the opposite contents. If the bills are passed despite the president's postponing veto, the Constitutional Court could intervene. Many observers consider this court to be a presidential institution.

However, all this could turn out to be a storm in a teacup against the background of the inevitable scandal expected to develop around the National Intelligence Service. When in 1992 the SDS cabinet wanted to place this service under its protective wing, the BSP objected. Now it is the Socialists who will be demanding to have General Asparukhov's service placed under the control of their cabinet.

Clinton and Mitterrand do not have such problems: In their countries such things were regulated by law long ago.

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Zhelev Briefs Political Groups on U.S. Visit

AU1702162495 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 17 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The three-day official and working visit of President Zhelev to the United States was one of the basic topics discussed during his meeting with the leadership of the Union of Democratic Forces' [SDS] parliamentary faction.

The president informed the representatives of the blue [SDS] coalition in detail about the talks he conducted in the United States. He said there was no differences between his positions and the positions of the ministers who had accompanied him on anything related to Bulgaria's foreign policy.

The leadership of the SDS parliamentary faction has asked whether President Zhelev really said in the United States that the government of Filip Dimitrov was toppled in 1992 because it had led Bulgaria to a catastrophe, as certain newspapers reported.

President Zhelev categorically denied having said this.

The meeting of President Zhelev with the leadership of the People's Union will end at any moment. During this meeting, the visit to the United States was also one of the central topics. However, as Mrs. Anastasiya Mozer said moments before the beginning of the meeting, other internal political issues, such as the forthcoming adoption of amendments to the land bill and the new code of regulations of the 37th National Assembly, would also be discussed. This meeting is also taking place at the president's initiative.

Afterward, a meeting with the leadership of the Rights and Freedoms Movement will begin.

Zhelev Informs on Results of U.S. Visit

AU1802155995 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 17 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Following his meeting with the leadership of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] parliamentary group today, President Zhelev held meetings with the leaderships of the People's Union and DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement] parliamentary groups. One should mention that these meetings were held at the initiative of the head of state, to brief the representatives of the parliamentary opposition on his talks in Washington and New York.

The Bulgarian president described as incorrect the interpretation made of what he said during his talks in the United States about a possible idea of Bulgaria's hosting a Balkan conference. The People's Union would support such a forum, Anastasiya Mozer told journalists—adding that her parliamentary group did not raise issues of domestic policy with the president at today's meeting but will next week seek an opportunity to inform him about some of their reservations concerning the parliament's work over the past few days. Some of these concerns are connected with the forthcoming vote on amendments to the Land Act and with the regulations for the Work of the National Assembly adopted about 10 days ago.

Zhelev's U.S. Visit Seen as 'Successful Mission'

AU2002181295 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 17 Feb 95 p 5

[Commentary by Petur Bochukov: "Successful Mission"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A successful and useful mission, which not only strengthened Washington's confidence in Sofia; an extremely strenuous program guided by openness and a business-like attitude during which Bulgaria obtained many promises; a step toward more pragmatism, realism, and diplomacy in relations between the institutions that conduct our foreign relations, which inspires hope—These assessments of the visit to the United States by President Zhelyu Zhelev and the ministers of the Democratic Left who accompanied him have more than foreign policy dimensions and importance.

The visit's basic goals—clearly and competently to explain to the leaders of the United States and the world's financial institutions Bulgaria's situation, what the intentions of the government are, and what Bulgaria wants from Washington—have been achieved. Furthermore, a document has been signed—a joint declaration on the foundations of relations between the United States and the Republic of Bulgaria—that according to the Bulgarian president, has the value of a treaty. This declaration spells out the basic principles of cooperation and the basic U.S. commitments to Bulgaria in such important areas as security, economics, trade, and culture.

Within the framework of its visit the Bulgarian delegation had dozens of meetings, and, even more important, the meetings were with the most important U.S. politicians. The fact that the meeting at the Oval Office between the two presidents, Bill Clinton and Zhelyu Zhelev, was attended by Deputy Prime Minister Rumen Gechev, Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski, and Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov, and on the U.S. side by Vice President Al Gore, Secretary of State Warren Christopher, and National Security Adviser Anthony Lake, is of special importance. This has certainly not been a routine affair in the U.S. diplomatic protocol.

The U.S. leaders and those involved in implementing U.S. foreign and trade-economic policy were acquainted with Bulgaria's achievements in the last five years and their cost and the intentions of the new government. In addition, the U.S. hosts were informed about how Bulgaria intends to seek the best guarantees possible of its security. In this respect, as Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski pointed out, there is no reason to speculate about the existence of tension between the presidency and the government over which implements Bulgaria's foreign policy, regardless of

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certain of the president's statements, which had not been coordinated with the cabinet and which could be the subject of future commentaries.

Bulgaria's difficult socioeconomic situation predetermined an especially important place for trade, economic, investment, and financial issues, which were discussed during the visit. In the past Bulgaria used to receive significant funds for the implementation of its economic reform. Unfortunately, these funds were not utilized rationally, because political passions and petty party interests prevented their better utilization and because incompetent people took the power and abused it. Now it is very important to convince our U.S. partners and international creditors of the rational approach of our government. Precisely this happened during the visit. We went to the United States in order to conduct business and not in order to beg for help. This is how Deputy Prime Minister Rumen Gechev summarized his mission. He successfully carried this out. This was so because our delegation's position was that our economic policy could be successful only if it was rational and not subject to the interests of various parties.

Undoubtedly, the visit to the United States of President Zhelyu Zhelev and the ministers who accompanied him was successful. The visit represented a step toward Bulgaria's integration into the world's security structures and that part of the world's economy that operates efficiently.

Nation Said 'Discredited' by Dispute

AU2002184895 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 13 Feb 95 p 8

[Commentary by Svetoslav Terziev: "Doubly Discrediting"]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Zhelyu Zhelev departed on a three-day visit to the United States hoping to gain a moral advantage in the looming conflict with the former Communists, who are undergoing a revival, REUTER pointed out on 12 February. Prime Minister Zhan Videnov countered by not going to the airport to see the president off, and instead sent Svetoslav Shivarov, deputy prime minister without portfolio, to carry out this protocol task.

Because of protocol blunders it has been impossible to understand whether the president is going on a working (as the itinerary says) or an official visit (as the president himself said) visit. Even the nonexistent term "official and working" visit has been used. The only known fact is that this is the president's fourth visit to the United States and, as with all previous visits, this one is also taking place at his own initiative. In other words, the Americans invite him when he makes a hint and when he needs their help.

The Americans do not hide the fact that in their relations with Bulgaria they prefer to talk with the president than with the socialist government. However, by dragging a foreign nation into his dispute with the Socialists on the right to conduct foreign policy, the president errs as much as his political opponents, who are trying to present him to the world as a protocol figurehead.

Bulgaria is being discredited by the lack of uniform state protocol and even more by demonstrating the lack of a uniform foreign policy.

Defense Minister Assesses Results of U.S. Visit

AU2002145995 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 17 Feb 95 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Bulgarian Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov by Colonel Vladi Vladkov; place and date not given: "It Is Time To Advance to Implementing Intentions Practically"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Vladkov] Mr. Minister, the fact that you were a member of the delegation led by President Zhelev that visited the United States implies that issues of a military-political nature were discussed. Have any military decisions been adopted?

[Pavlov] A meeting with U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry and his deputies and high-ranking military men was included in the visit's itinerary. The results of this meeting could be summarized by stressing the opinion that development of relations between the two defense ministries is progressing normally, and even faster than the development of interstate relations. This means that confidence has grown, and that cooperation, contacts, and meetings are more intensive.

The main thesis I presented to the hosts was that it is time to advance from words, meetings, discussions, and getting to know each other at different levels to implementing the intentions practically, i.e. it is time to give real and practical expression to everything that has been done so far. We have been assured that what had been planned for 1994 and 1995—namely, receiving military equipment as aid—will be implemented as soon as possible. Naturally, this does not include any lethal weapons.

[Vladkov] How does the United States assess our efforts within the framework of the Partnership for Peace program?

[Pavlov] I think our efforts are substantial and, in certain aspects, are even more ambitious than those of other states. They are precisely at the level we want them to be, and they correspond to our possibilities. What we are doing for the planning of "Breeze-95" and our preparations for forming a battalion—especially for the participation in Partnership for Peace enterprises on our territory and the territory of other countries, where we would be invited to participate—is something very serious. In addition, there are all the other forms of cooperation: seminars, the exchange of delegations, and the training of personnel.

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[Vladkov] How do they react in the United States to our willingness to join NATO as soon as possible?

[Pavlov] According to them, by the end of this year—sometime in the fall—the United States and NATO will prepare the formula on admitting the states that want to join NATO. This means that, now, the entire process and its efficiency are being studied. However, unlike certain other countries, they do not divide the countries into categories of first and last but assess everything on the basis of the conditions that would determine the willingness and readiness to adopt the final decision. This will be a long process.

Diplomats Complain About Foreign Service

95P20516A Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 26 Jan 95 p 9

[Article by Elena Trifonova: "In Foreign Affairs, There Are Also Domestic Problems]

[FBIS Translated Text] The declaration accompanied by queries filled seven pages and united in total unanimity the two professional unions in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the independent one and the Podkrepa local. It was left pending by Minister Ivan Stanchov for his successor, Georgi Pirinski.

Diplomats maintain that, after the official representatives of the unions placed the declaration in the hands of the Number One Diplomat (on 17 January 1995), the latter did not even look at it.

Stanchov allegedly reacted after two central dailies, among them KONTINENT, resounded with the substance of the unions' questions to the foreign policy leadership. He promised to read it.

And then to leave it in care of the incoming minister.

A normative vacuum has marked the ministry's administrative workings for five years, the diplomats remind us. The foreign ministry was ripe for the requirement of eliminating ties to political parties. However, it was only afterwards,as the diplomats divorced their links to political parties, that these same politicians forgot about the law on civil servants. Such a law should really meet their aspirations and conform to international standards. It would then provide the necessary security and stability for the work of Bulgaria's diplomats around the world and at home.

[Former Foreign] Minister Viktor Vulkov, who is currently the ambassador to Ankara, had tried to introduce a certain amount of order during his tenure—such as the regulation on the structure and activity of the certifying commission that appoints new personnel. The union representatives participate in the commission as observers. Since the end of Berov's cabinet, this commission has not functioned. A paradoxical situation has developed in which those who entered the competition during 1987-88 have received their external assignments but the young diplomats who were sent to diplomatic schools in western Europe prior to the last two-to-three years would have to leave because of disincentives for the work.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs—A Bastion for "Our People"

For the years up to 1989, the foreign service cultivated its image as the glory of "our people's home." The majority were known as the children of fathers with a synonymous and imperative right to work there. Gradually, the partisan generation gave way to the middle generation of diplomats, who were primarily graduates of the Moscow schools (MGI-MO [Moscow State Institute of Foreign Relations]). Some even called it MIMO for short (or as an addition—the author notes). Among the graduates, it was known who could and who could not [make it], but who had to be there. It is not accurate to say that the appointments of ambassadors were political; others [without political credentials] could not even be considered. But even at that time, there was hostility on the part of the career diplomats toward the *nomenklatura* appointees whose approval came from the offices at the Palace of the Party.

Nowadays, the career diplomats maintain that the appointment process is not so much political as nomenklaturist. It is still arranged in offices, but the offices at the great white house—that is: at the presidency. "The war" of the presidency with the foreign service is not intended to purge the Moscow graduates because it is being carried out precisely by such a person: Kamen Velichkov, Dr. Zhevel's foreign policy adviser.

Once again, an attempt is being made to structure the foreign service. "Our people's home" remains as a characteristic trait; the change is only in the definition of "our." For the diplomats of the middle generation, there is the question of continuing to endure or to leave. Leafing through the resumes of those who left under compulsion during the past few years since the "Stoyan Ganev [foreign minister 1991-92] era" demonstrates that the former diplomats were even able to establish companies and become butchers.

According to a majority of diplomats with reputations beyond our borders, the nomenklatura political appointees have contributed to a total demoralization for foreign affairs work,

Although these same people were able find justification for certain ambassadorial appointments by the presidency, made in the style of "Three of Ours and One of Yours," this formula did not categorically alter the fact that ever more frequently, the right of the ambassadors to exclusively determine the team with which they would work outside Bulgaria was being established.

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The latest, and most striking, example is the memorandum of Ambassador Stefan Tafrov to Minister Stanchov in which he asks that the second person at the embassy in London be the wife of [Union of Democratic Forces] Deputy Petur Stoyanov, Mrs. Antonina Stoyanova. Her colleagues recognize her good professional qualifications. Her language proficiency was in German, and she had submitted a request for assignment to a German-speaking country. Her colleagues did not comment on the propriety of this request, given the requirement that diplomats be accompanied by their spouses if they are married.

At the same time, at least 15 diplomats who have completed specialized studies at the diplomatic school in Leeds [England] are at the Ministry of Foerign Affairs.

An ambassador is not designated as an employer, the diplomats stationed abroad point out.

Behind the dark facade of the ostensible depoliticization, attempts to impose presidential cadres were bluntly made, and this was transformed into a scandalous and inadequately managed policy, the MVnR [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] people say categorically.

Those at the foreign office think that people at the presidency acted as if they did not want to hear about the behavior of ambassadors Krustev in Beirut or Lea Koen in Brussels. According to them, the ambassadors exposed not only Bulgaria, but also the president, who closed his eyes. At the same time, the financial audits at various embassies revealed collosal outflows of state funds into the personal accounts of ambassadors and embassy personnel—it is said. There were sufficient signs of incredible financial fraud even in the voluminous files. International legal experts point out that the Bulgarian ambassadors' diplomatic immunity is applicable only vis-a-vis the state to which they are accredited. In their opinion, the president has no grounds for not recalling representatives who damage Bulgaria and provisionally recommending their cases to the chief prosecutor.

Among those ambassadors, a likely contender to be first on "that list" is the Bulgarian representative at the United Nations, Slavi Pashovski. According to his colleagues, the headquarters of the international organization is the place where former or prospective future foreign ministers are sent. Pashovski is not only not one of them but he is also among the weakest ambassadors in New York and has a disgraceful lack of English. To the telegram sent by [Foreign] Minister Stanislav Daskalov forbidding him from traveling to Africa on personal business, Pashovski responded on the very day he completed the flight to the Dark Continent. According to his colleagues from the mission in New York, instead of building an attractive image of Bulgaria, Pashovski is currently engaged, allegedly, in a strenuous quest for a job in order to stay on the other side of the ocean after his tour is finished. His personal ambitions are said to be directed towards inclusion in the UN program for the development of Third World countries.

Irritable from the insecurity, stress, and vagueness not only about the country's foreign policy doctrine but also about thier own futures, the greater portion of the foreign service officers in the large building next to "Universiada" auditorium welcomed the succeeding Number One Diplomat with unfaltering pessimism. And with average salaries of 6,860 leva, which place them in an honorable 17th place among civil servants.

Pirinski on Christopher Invitation to Bulgaria

AU2002152695 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 16 Feb 95 p 9

[Interview with Bulgarian Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski by Tosho Toshev in Washington; date not given: "Dr. Zhelev Invited Christopher to Bulgaria Behind Foreign Minister's Back"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Toshev] Could you comment on the invitation that President Zhelev has extended to Secretary of State Christopher to visit Bulgaria—having brought peace to the Middle East—in order to participate in a meeting of Balkan leaders and do the same as he did in the Middle East? I ask you to comment as Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs.

[Pirinski] This is a proposal and initiative of the president, so to speak. It was not discussed with the government.

[Toshev] Did you really not know about it in advance?

[Pirinski] You will recall that similar proposals have been made in the past—for example 12 or 18 months ago during Mrs. Albright's visit to Bulgaria. Thus, it is not a new idea. We have not discussed the idea with Mr. Zhelev. He did not raise the issue during the talks we had before the visit. He expressed his idea and the U.S. side listened to it. No intentions have been expressed and no commitment has been made.

[Toshev] As Mr. Christopher's counterpart, do you intend to take any diplomatic actions in this direction?

[Pirinski] This is not a matter of relations between counterparts. This is a political position. You know that the government has not discussed such an initiative. This is a very serious and responsible matter. Thus, I could by no means commit myself to any position on this issue.

[Toshev] During the meeting with Christopher (author's note: immediately after the president's statement to journalists at the State Department, a working lunch for members of the delegation took place) did you bring up the subject of the idea proposed by President Zhelev, which in my opinion is very impressive from a political point of view?

[Pirinski] The issue was raised at the meeting with Christopher, and afterward at the meeting with President Clinton—but by Mr. Zhelev, not myself.

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[Toshev] So you yourself took no stand on this idea?

[Pirinski] No.

Pirinski Views Foreign Policy Goals, Priorities

AU2002182295 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 13 Feb 95 p 3

[Interview with Bulgarian Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski by Elena Trifonova; place and date not given: "Bulgaria Needs Nationally Responsible Rather Than Party-Affiliated Diplomats."]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Trifonova] Mr. Pirinski, why do you think that the attacks on the new cabinet began by expressing suspicion regarding an eventual change in our foreign policy priorities?

[Pirinski] I cannot and do not want to explain someone else's suspicions. Furthermore, I do not know whether those suspicions express a dominating tendency in our society. However, if we want to discuss reality, then this cabinet has already stated that it intends to conduct a foreign policy that would serve lasting national interests. In this context it is our basic goal to guarantee national security and ensure suitable external conditions for accelerating structural reform and achieving economic growth. I would also like to point out that we will be conducting an active policy of national consensus on the principles and priorities of our national security. [passage omitted]

[Trifonova] You have said that you do not see any objective causes for a confrontation between institutions on foreign policy issues. Does this mean that there is no dispute between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the cabinet, and Dr. Zhelev on his official visit to the United States, which begins on 13 February, in anything related to the issues that will be put to the hosts by the Bulgarian delegation?

[Pirinski] I fully confirm this position, and to a certain extent I am puzzled that this question continues to be asked. Functions, rights, duties, and competence in the field of foreign policy have been clarified and divided by the Constitution with sufficient clarity. Thus, there is really no reason for a confrontation, if I may use the term that you use. [passage omitted]

[Trifonova] How do you and your team plan to make your contribution to activating Bulgaria's foreign policy in the Balkans?

[Pirinski] I do not think one should talk about fundamental changes in our Balkan foreign policy. For obvious reasons, it is exceptionally important for Bulgaria to preserve its constructive role in the Balkans. In this context I would describe the goals of our regional foreign policy as confirming European standards of behavior among the Balkan states, and guaranteeing our national security and the country's economic development by acquiring new dimensions of multilateral and bilateral cooperation. Naturally, all this must be done on the basis of equality, pragmatism, and mutual confidence. It is our principle not to develop bilateral relations with any of our Balkan partners at the expense of a third state. I will also add Bulgaria's refusal to participate in "axes" and groups in the Balkans. The historical legacy of the region requires that we adhere to the principles of balance and equality of contacts. I would also like to repeat another element of our foreign policy: the principle of nonparticipation of Balkan states in the conflicts on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

[Trifonova] How would you try to restore Bulgaria's lost positions in the countries of the Middle East and the former socialist camp?

[Pirinski] First of all, we will try everything possible to complete as soon as possible the updating on a legal-contractual basis of our bilateral relations with the countries of Central and East Europe and the CIS. This must be done in order to be able to activate mutual economic relations with those countries. First of all, we must settle our mutual debts and guarantee favorable conditions for effecting growth in our trade. Our relations with Russia will develop on a priority basis that corresponds to that country's role and importance in international economic relations. With the Central European states that have become associated with the EU, we will try to create a free trade zone and other forms of coming together and to ensure additional preconditions for an accelerated integration into European structures. In anything related to the drop—mainly in the economic sphere—in relations with the Middle Eastern countries—we must clearly understand two factors: on the one hand, objective factors; on the other, possibilities that we have not been able to utilize. Correcting everything related to the second factor—without any prejudices and on the basis of our interests alone—must be one of the most important tasks of the present government. [passage omitted]

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Havel Speech on Czech-German Relations

LD1702214995

[FBIS Editorial Report] Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech at 1525 GMT on 17 February broadcast a live 35-minute speech by Czech President Vaclav Havel entitled "Czechs and Germans on the Way To Being Good Neighbors," given at Prague's Charles University today.

The president opens his speech by saying that we have probably arrived at a crossroads when a quest for a totally new spirit of the coexistence of peoples and cultures is under way. He says that he wanted to contribute to a better understanding of the historical context of events by offering a few remarks on the Czech-German relations. He opens these remarks by saying: "Our relationship to Germany and the Germans has been more than merely one of the themes of our diplomacy. It has been a part of our destiny, even a part of our identity. Germany has been our inspiration as well as our pain; a source of understandable traumas, of many prejudices and misconceptions, as well as of standards to which we turn. Some regard Germany as our greatest hope, others as our greatest peril."

The president then briefly recalls historic facts relevant to Czech-German relations. Speaking about the expulsion of German population from Czechoslovakia after the Second World War he says:

"We can have different views on the postwar expulsion of the German population. My own critical opinion is generally known. But we can never take that step out of its historical context, nor can we separate it from all the horrors that preceded it and that led to it. While, until recently I believed this to be self-evident and therefore felt no need to stress it, I have to say it clearly at the moment, now that people who ignore this fact or even call it in question are again taking the floor in Germany. I said many times in the past that evil was infectious and that the evil of the transfer was merely a sad culmination of the evil that preceded it."

The president stresses that the two countries should try to reach an agreement on what place to give to their respective pasts. He says:

"Indeed, our future is not in our past. To reawaken the past means to bring back to life all the demons that have lain dormant there. That is not the way for us to go. The way is to recognize at last how dangerous these demons are.

"This attitude toward the past brings other practical results as well. From the Czech viewpoint, one of the important and logical consequences of this attitude is an unequivocal rejection of any attempts to extract from long bygone events or injustices a whole set of present-day political or legal demands or claims that call in question the very ground on which the postwar order of Europe has been built. The voices advocating that have been marginal and not very numerous, but the Czech public has been very sensitive to their emergence. Therefore, I deem it my duty to say here in the clearest terms that the Czech Republic is the direct coheir of the Czechoslovak statehood born out of two dreadful wars, the unleashing of which the Czechs had no part. Therefore, our republic will never negotiate about a revision of their outcome, about any infringement of the continuity of its legal system, about any corrections of history at the cost of our contemporaries.

"Yes, if there is a debt in the form of compensating the surviving victims of the Nazi tyranny, let it be paid. However, nobody paying us any sum of money in any currency will ever compensate us for all that we and our ancestors had to go through because of Nazism."

After speaking about the victims who were murdered, Havel continues:

"And we are not so foolish as to send to the present generations in the democratic Germany bills for all the wrongs committed long ago by some of their fathers, grandfathers, and great grandfathers, just as we do not send to the nations of the former Soviet Union bills for all the damage done to our country and to our souls by the decades of Communism.

"This is why we consider all the attempts to demand from us material or another redress of the postwar expulsion to be all the more foolish."

Speaking about Germany's and the Czech Republic's share of guilt for the past wrongdoing. President Havel says:

"Representatives of the democratic Germany long ago publicly admitted the German guilt for Nazism, without attempting the impossible, that is, to return history somewhere before the Second World War.

"We, too, have made an effort to describe our share of responsibility for all the bad things done after the war. However, we too, do not have the slightest intention to turn history back or to annul legal acts lawfully approved by our parliament years ago, acts on which whole layers of other acts have since piled up. We are not prepared to let new storms wreak havoc in the area of property rights and thus open the door to all the evil spirits of the past.

"The past can never be changed, nor can we erase from our historical memory the 30 Years' War, the two world wars, or the consequences of the last one of these. It is, however, our duty to the world as well as to ourselves to tell the truth about all these developments; it is essential to our sanity as a nation and a state. As far as the expulsion [of the German population] is concerned, we must also admit the inconvenient truth, regardless of what erratic conclusions certain people might possibly draw from our words."

After speaking about danger of the vicious circle of never-ending retaliation, Havel continues:

"Those who were once expelled or evicted from our country, as well as their descendants, are welcome here

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like all Germans are. They are welcome as guests who hold in esteem the lands where generations of their ancestors once lived, as those who tend the sites to which they feel bound, and who work together with our citizens as friends."

After referring to the current Czech-German dialogue, Havel says:

"In other words: The time of confrontation has to end once and for all, and be replaced by the time of cooperation. The more unequivocally the participants in such cooperation on both sides commit themselves to the idea of a civil state and civil society, the better equipped they will be to work together.

""Germany is way ahead—not only economically, but also because at least its western part for years enjoyed the opportunity of living in freedom and building a liberal democratic state based on all the time-tested values of Western civilization and of true European orientation."

After speaking in more detail about Germany, Havel turns to the Czech Republic:

"Time stood still for a long time in the Czech Republic. However, this does not mean that we cannot make up quickly for our delay, especially if we draw on the potential of good prewar traditions which, as it becomes clear, were not completely eradicated during all those 57 years.

"This means that preconditions for our good cooperation are here."

Speaking about desired cooperation between Germany and the Czech Republic Havel goes on to say the following:

"If disruptive tones, voices, and sentiments emerge, both sides should commit more energy to fight them than we have done so far.

"On the German side, these voices, fortunately rare and isolated, attempt to rehabilitate the intellectual roots of the German catastrophe in the past, the voices of people who are secretly nostalgic and unable to part with the concept of a national state as the zenith of human endeavors, and with the feeling that Germany has been entrusted with a special mission that entitles it to a position of superiority vis-a-vis others.

"On the Czech side, this is an awkward and essentially provincial combination of fear of the Germans and servility to them, and of course the inability of many people to liberate themselves from the straitjacket of prejudices that were for so long nurtured in our society."

After speaking about problems of Czech-German cooperation, Havel goes on to say:

"Ladies and gentlemen, after having described various dangers on the path toward a good Czech-German future, after having described those who are, perhaps without being aware of that, its enemies—let me profess my optimism: I believe in the democratic, liberal, and European Germany.

"I believe in the Germany of Theodor Heuss, Konrad Adenauer, Kurt Schumacher, Ludwig Erhard, Willy Brandt, and Richard von Weizsacker. I believe in the millions of German democrats. I believe in Germany's sincere desire to develop and intensify the process of European unification based on the universal validity of the fundamental values of the Euro-American civilization. I believe in its effort to work for Europe to be a continent of peace, freedom, cooperation, security, and just relations among all its states, nations, and regions.

"Therefore, I believe also in Germany's sincere readiness to support a speedy integration of Central Europe in the North Atlantic Alliance and in the European Union."

Recalling Czech dissidents' belief in the past that there will be no united Europe without a united Germany, Havel concludes his address by saying:

"I believe that our shared commitment to the fundamental values of civilization on which the present Europe is being built will make our work easier, and that we will find within ourselves enough courage to stand up against all those with a political orientation to the disastrous past would like to put an end to our good future.

"I believe in theefficacy of truth and goodwill as the main sources of our mutual understanding."

Sudeten Germans Criticize Speech

LD1902182395 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 19 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The leadership of the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft issued a statement today commenting on Czech President Vaclav Havel's address on Czech-German relations delivered on Friday. Our correspondent in Bonn, Jiri Halousek, reports:

[Halousek] The leadership of the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft, meeting in Munich for a session chaired by Chairman Franz Neubauer, has issued a statement that says that Vaclav Havel's address does not herald any progress as regards fundamental issues; on the contrary, it means a step back when compared to earlier statements by the Czech president.

Though previously Vaclav Havel used to condemn the expulsion of Sudeten Germans as a profoundly immoral act, he is said to attempt to justify it now. The statement goes on to stress that the Czech president has until recently rejected the idea of collective guilt as an inhuman and unjust idea; now he puts the blame for the expulsion on a great number of Sudeten Germans, without, however, identifying them individually. [passage omitted]

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German Spokesman on Reaction

LD2002184995 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 20 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Our Bonn correspondent Jiri Halousek discussed with German Government Spokesman Dieter Vogel reactions to Vaclav Havel's speech on Czech-German relations.

[Halousek] Responding to my question regarding the Federal Government's view of the 17 February speech by the Czech president, Dieter Vogel said:

[Begin Vogel recording, in German into superimposed Czech translation] The speech will be undoubtedly subjected to a detailed analysis. But one can say that Vaclav Havel's speeches always meet a positive response in Germany, and that also applies to this speech. We are very happy with what the Czech President said regarding the future of our two countries and cooperation between them. We hold the same view. What we need is cooperation and not confrontation. [end recording]

Dieter Vogel went on to say that, as far the passages in Vaclav Havel's speech dealing with the past were concerned, opinions in Germany varied. But we definitely agree with the Czech president that we must think of the future, the Bonn government spokesman emphasized.

Speaking about the compensation for the Czech victims of Nazism, which Vaclav Havel also mentioned in his speech, Dieter Vogel said:

[Begin Vogel recording] At the present time, I cannot see any new development as far as this issue is concerned. The federal chancellor pledged our readiness to make a humanitarian gesture and this is still in force. We will have to continue discussing this issue. It is on our agenda. [end recording] [passage omitted]

AERO Decides on U.S. Avionics for L-159's

AU2102073795 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 17 Feb 95 p 2

[Article by "(km)": "AERO Can Finally Begin To Manufacture the L-159 Light Ground-Attack Aircraft"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—AERO Vodochody can finally begin to implement one of the most ambitious Czech engineering projects: production of the L-159 light ground-attack aircraft. That is to say, the AERO Holdings shareholding company board decided once and for all this week that the supplier of the strategic components for the L-159 aircraft will be the U S. Rockwell company.

After almost a year of arguments about AERO's foreign partner for the production of this aircraft, the management of the Vodochody-based enterprise agreed that the avionics from the Rockwell company are technically more advanced and surpass the rival products from the Israeli Elbit arms manufacturer and the French Sextant company.

The company's board also entrusted AERO Vodochody Director Zdenek Chalupnik to begin negotiations immediately with the army on a contract to develop and manufacture the aircraft. The Defense Ministry intends to purchase some 70 of these aircraft for its arsenal before the year 2005. The army has supported U.S. technology from the very beginning, because it regards it as the most compatible with NATO systems.

Article Views Temelin Power Plant Construction

AU2002104095 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Feb 95 p 14

[Unattributed report in "Markets and Economy" column: "Temelin Almost Completed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Of the total amount, 68.8 billion korunas [Kc], planned for the construction of the Temelin nuclear power plant, Kc42 billion—approximately 61 percent—had been invested on 31 December 1994.

The actual construction part of the first unit of the power plant is almost finished, and 60 percent of the technical equipment has been installed. The construction of the second unit is 80-percent complete, and 30 percent of the technical equipment has been installed. A decision was made in 1990 that two of the originally planned four VVER-1000 [1,000 MW water-moderated water-cooled power reactor] would be completed.

The date of insertion of the fuel is planned for September 1996, and power generation will be launched in October 1996.

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Meciar on Privatization, Other Issues

LD1702231195 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 17 Feb 95

["Regular" interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Pavol Sveton; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Sveton] [Passage omitted] A few days ago, you met Jan Slota [chairman of the Slovak National Party] and Jan Luptak [chairman of the Association of Workers of Slovakia, both coalition partners] in Banska Bystrica to discuss the project of further privatization. Can we expect any radical amendments or changes in future privatization?

[Meciar] The project of further privatization does not call for any more ideas on what to do, but rather for ideas on how to do it in the shortest possible time. The coupon privatization remains priority even though we have to admit that the original intention to privatize property to the value of 70 billion crowns is not realistic. This target could only be met if we included branches of industry that are necessary for the strategic goals of the state's economic policy, namely the gas and power industry.

We are interested in speeding up the whole privatization process so that most of the companies earmarked for the second privatization wave are privatized by the end of 1996. [passage omitted]

[Sveton] [passage omitted] There are views that, with its planned amendment to the present law on investment societies and funds, your government wants to render these bodies powerless and to prevent them from managing the property. Could this possibly constitute a case of anti-constitutional intervention in ownership rights?

[Meciar] There is a certain shift of meaning. The government's intention is being presented in an extreme position not held by the government.

Let me be more specific. A citizen becomes the owner of his or her coupons. However, a large group of people has already sold their coupons, although this is not in accord with the law. The funds have spent a lot of money on advertising and they want to get the money back from citizens' stock shares. The funds will want to deduct the money from the property deposited with them by the citizens. [passage omitted]

If we want to protect citizens' position we have to define the position of funds as property managers. We also want to know who and what money is behind the funds, who are the businessmen that are to act as future property owners? It is not good to set up the same funds as those set up in the previous privatization wave. It is necessary to clearly distinguish investment funds and funds that are going to manage the property. The uncontrolled transfer of property from one to the other should be made impossible. Hence, all the steps taken by us are aimed at protecting the citizens as owners and at defining the funds as managers of citizens' property. [passage omitted]

[Sveton] [passage omitted] There was a lot of discussion recently about the bill on the conflict of interest that is being prepared jointly by the representatives of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL]. Is this cooperation intentional, or is it a matter of chance? Is it plausible to conclude that this instance of limited cooperation will develop into more extensive cooperation? I am asking this because the SDL congress is to take place in Poprad tomorrow, and it could bring about several changes.

[Meciar] The SDL has for a long time not been able to define its relation toward the HZDS. In the present SDL leadership there is a strong group that opposes any cooperation. Therefore, we should not jump to conclusions based on the fact that we are going to work jointly on a bill. [passage omitted]

[Sveton] [passage omitted] Several economic agreements were signed during Prime Minister Chernomyrdin's visit to Slovakia. In this connection, there emerged concerns as to whether the economic cooperation with Russia could turn us into its political hostages?

[Meciar] We have to be realistic. We are importing power and gas from Russia and we have recorded on the Russian market losses in the balance of payments to the value of $1 billion. If we were able to act against these losses by exporting goods we would end with an increase of 35 billion Slovak crowns in our export [sentence as heard]. In the situation when our production capacity is not fully used this could result in an enormous improvement in the usage of available funds, many of which were deliberately targeted in the past at the Russian market. Another factor to be considered is the strategy of Slovakia's economic development.

If we are a country that is to develop more dynamically we have to lay stress on export. The internal consumption is at a certain level and we can meet the demands of the market. However, if we are to secure growth in the standard of living, as well as all that is linked to it, Slovakia must increase its export capacity approximately 10 times. Moreover, Slovakia has to search for new markets. [passage omitted]

Our strategy in the search for the new markets follows sequence: Central European market, east market including Russia, then the Arab market, USA, and then a further expansion of export, if I may use these words, which could help to put our economy on a sound footing. So, let us stop fearing the Russian market. The Americans are getting ahead of us, the Germans are interested [in the Russian market], the French are very active. And we, who used to have a very strong position on this market and had trade missions and intimate knowledge of the market, we have left it. It was not wise. It is not wise since Russia is being automatically identified with

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the former Soviet Union. The complexity and controversy of the development in that country is being overlooked, while the Russians strive to introduce more democracy into thei. internal political and economic system. They need support rather than isolation.

[Sveton] Prime Minister, thank you for the interview.

Preliminary Privatization Round To Begin 'by July'

AU2002194895 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 14 Feb 95 p 1

[TASR report: "P. Bisak: The Preliminary Round for the Second Wave of Coupon Privatization Will Begin on 1 July"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The preliminary round for the second wave of coupon privatization will begin by 1 July this year. This statement was made by P. Bisak, minister for the administration and privatization of national property, at yesterday's working meeting with representatives of the mass media. He said that the setting of this date is conditional not only on the size of the offer, but also on the clarification of the privatization concept. The tardy establishment of shareholding companies in particular is a constraining factor. So far, only some 20 percent of them have been established. Minister Bisak had not yet been informed of the contents and outcome of yesterday's meeting in Banska Bystrica, involving V. Meciar, J. Slota, and J. Luptak, on the privatization concept. He assumes that this was a political consultation meeting involving the coalition leaders.

Visa-Free Treaty With Russia Has Escape Clause

AU2102073595 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 15 Feb 95 p 1

[TASR report: "The Treaty on Visa-Free Relations With Russia Has a Security Clause"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The agreement between the Slovak Government and the Russian Federation Government on the visa-free movement of citizens, which was signed by the prime ministers of the two countries in Bratislava on 13 February, also has a so-called security clause that makes it possible to rescind the treaty immediately if the number of serious crimes committed by Russian citizens increases. This statement was made yesterday by Interior Minister L. Hudek. In view of the Slovak Republic's commercial, touristic, and other interests, it was necessary to sign the treaty, although the Interior Ministry is also aware of its possible negative impact. According to L. Hudek, the ministry has taken the necessary measures to ensure that the infiltration of criminal elements from the East is kept at the lowest possible level.

KDH Head Backs Meciar on Relations With Russia

AU2102095495 Bratislava SME in Slovak 17 Feb 95 p 5

[Interview with KDH Chairman Jan Carnogursky by Lubomir Lintner and Peter Toth; place and date not given: "Humbleness Toward One's Own Claims"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [SME] Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin visited Slovakia this week. How do you assess the vectors of Slovakia's foreign political orientation, also in conjunction with the results of talks between Slovak and Russian representatives?

[Carnogursky] I favor Slovakia's balanced position between Russia and the West and rely on Slovakia's openness toward both Eastern and Western influences. It needs to be said, however, that when two people are doing the same, it is not the same. The Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] would be able to implement a policy open to both the East and the West because we are firmly anchored in Western European party structures. We support the Meciar government's efforts to maintain or improve relations with Russia. I believe that the Chernomyrdin visit and the prime minister's previous visit to Brussels suitably complement one another.

[SME] The results of these foreign political activities are not the same. Do you think that the results of talks between Slovak and Russian representatives are in conformity with our interests?

[Carnogursky] A number of agreements that are advantageous for Slovakia were signed during Chernomyrdin's visit. It would be desirable if Slovakia sent firmer political signals to the West as well. But should I denounce agreements concluded with the East that I consider advantageous only because it is not sending them at the moment?

[SME] Is the agreement, under which Russian citizens will be able to stay in Slovakia for up to 30 days without requiring a visa, also advantageous?

[Carnogursky] Yes, because most of the Russians who will come to Slovakia on the basis of this agreement will do so for business purposes, as tourists, or as shopping tourists—those coming to Kosice or Michalovce, for example—which, too, is advantageous for us. The number of mafia members arriving in our country, too, will increase a bit. The Slovak police will have to cope with that, if possible with help from the Russian police.

[SME] Are the people in the top state leadership not attracted to cooperation with Russia because Russian is the foreign language they speak the best....?

[Carnogursky] Personally, I am able to communicate in English as well as in Russian. But my English vocabulary is broader at present.

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[SME] The term "positive neutrality" has appeared recently in connection with Slovakia's relations with Russia and its relations with NATO. Could the materialization of this term not produce a development in Slovakia analogous to the development of relations between the Baltic states and Russia that we know from history, from the years 1939-40?

[Carnogursky] Not in the next 10 years, because Russia will not be strong enough in this period to be able to expand militarily beyond its borders. Politics contains the seeds of all kinds of risks but, on the other hand, politics does not dwell in painting various imaginary dangers and considering them real. As early as 1993, the KDH adopted a resolution regarding Slovakia's foreign political orientation, in which we declared that the Slovak Republic should head toward Western economic and security structures. But in the very same statement, we also declared that we feel solidarity with the East European nations that have also experienced communism. It is the task of politics, as the art of achieving the possible, to find in the development of society a suitable path, one that takes into consideration all influences.

[SME] In an interview given to Slovak journalists prior to his visit, Prime Minister Chernomyrdin raised the rhetorical question why Slovakia was so eager to integrate into NATO quickly. He repeated this question also during his meeting with President Michal Kovac. How would you react to a question formulated in this way?

[Carnogursky] So far, NATO has proved to be the only functioning international security organization, in contrast to the Commonwealth of Independent States, for instance.

[SME] You have rejected Vladimir Meciar's offer to participate in consultations of constitutional officials on foreign policy issues. In explaining your refusal to participate, you said that foreign policy was closely tied up with domestic developments and that, given the circumstances accompanying the advent of the government coalition, cooperation was not possible. This attitude is understandable. Nonetheless, could you tell us—for example, by virtue of your post of deputy chairman in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe and as an expert on developments in various regions in and outside Europe—what are your ideas regarding a Slovak diplomatic offensive?

[Carnogursky] Slovak foreign policy could be more active in the Balkans and, more specifically, toward the Croats and Serbs. Another priority of Slovak foreign policy, in my opinion, is cooperation within the framework of the Visegrad Group countries. I consider the strengthening of relations among the Visegrad Four countries to be of greater importance for us than membership of the European Union, for example, or membership of NATO. At the same time, the strengthening of relations among these countries can be accomplished only by Slovakia, and by no other state of this group.

ZRS Chief: No Coalition Split Over NATO, EU

AU2102124095 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Feb 95 pp 1-2

[Interview with Association of Workers of Slovakia Chairman Jan Luptak by Rado Stevcik in Bratislava on 16 February: "Neutrality Would Be Acceptable"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The attitude of the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] toward Slovakia's integration into the European economic and security structures differs from that of its coalition partners. Yesterday, after his meeting with Heike Zenker, FRG ambassador to the Slovak Republic, we therefore asked Jan Luptak, deputy chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic and ZRS chairman, whether these differences of opinion might not jeopardize the stability of the government coalition.

[Luptak] Even the diplomats I meet keep asking me whether the ZRS's different attitude toward Slovakia's entry into European structures could not bring about the coalition's split. I keep assuring them that this will not happen. We endorsed the government program, and hence also the government's foreign political orientation, because we accept 85 percent of it and those 15 percent cannot divide us.

[Stevcik] What are actually your ideas regarding entry into European structures?

[Luptak] We wanted neutrality as early as 1968. In my opinion, today it would be acceptable both to Russia and the neighboring countries. Even Mrs. Zenker, the German ambassador, confirmed to me that admission into NATO was a very distant prospect. As for joining the European Union, let us take a look at France, where 51 percent of the population voted in favor of joining [as published]. Was this a victory or a defeat? I would consider it a victory if at least 80 percent voted yes in a referendum. I am not against joining, but the decision must be made by the people. It cannot be decided by politicians, they cannot bear such a heavy burden. No one has explained to the people yet what admission into European structures will bring them. No one has told them what the pros and cons are. I am partly responsible for the policy of this country, but steps like those are decisive. Decisions on them must really be made by the people themselves.

[Stevcik] What are your ideas regarding the influx of foreign capital into the Slovak economy?

[Luptak] This was another issue that I discussed with Mrs. Zenker, because German businessmen would like to have majority stakes in our companies. I am against this. This country is small, and it can be easily bought out. If we were as big as Germany, I would not mind. But we cannot allow our stake in enterprises that we need to drop below 51 percent. I drew her attention to our bad experiences with some German firms. There are honest

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and dishonest businessmen in every country. And we cannot permit the degrading of our workers.

[Stevcik] What do you think about Russian capital actively entering Slovakia?

[Luptak] The Eastern markets must open up. Much will depend on who will seize this opportunity. Those who come first will be successful. If the surplus of goods in the West gets even bigger, they will have to place it in the Eastern market, or else there will be unemployment and great dissatisfaction. This also applies to us. From next year onward, we are to pay for Russian raw materials in hard currency. Why could we not export to Russia even now footwear from Partizanske as an advance payment for raw material imports? Let our people have work. Why should we pay in hard currency when we can pay in kind? We are short of hard currency just as they are.

[Stevcik] Do you consider forging closer cooperation ties with other left-wing parties?

[Luptak] When someone declares that he is a left-wing party, it does not mean that he really is one. We are a new party, and we have our direction and goal, which we are not going to abandon. We must prove that the people need us and that we do what the people wish. Some political entities would like to swallow us. But they will not succeed. Let there be even two left-wing parties, and let them do their policy and let the people then choose. It is not for us to seek closer cooperation, but for someone else. We came into being precisely because left-wing policy was not the way it should have been. Those steps must be taken by others.

Democratic Left Party Elects Leadership

LD1902133695 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 19 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The third congress of the Democratic Left Party [SDL] continues in Poprad today. Our editor Oto Gorner reports on the latest developments:

[Gorner] Given the fact that yesterday's congress deliberations lasted till 0300 this morning, I will sum up the results of the vote for the party's new leadership.

Peter Weiss was re-elected chairman, defeating other proposed candidates. He gained 53.9 percent of the vote. The vote for other candidates was as follows: Lubomir Fogas ended second with 82 votes, 33.7 percent of the vote, and Milan Ftacnik got 30 votes, 12.3 percent of the vote.

There were two rounds of voting for deputy chairmen. In the first round Pavol Kanis was elected deputy chairman in charge of relations with other political parties and organizations. Milan Ftacnik was elected deputy chairman in charge of international relations, and Brigita Schmognerova was elected deputy chairman in charge of the economy. [passage omitted]

Government Approves 1995 Draft State Budget

AU2002135095 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Feb 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Rado Stevcik: "State Budget Is Ready"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—On the night of 14 February (at approximately 2355 hours) the Slovak Government approved the draft law on the 1995 state budget. Yesterday, following essential technical modifications, the government submitted the draft to the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR]. The NRSR plenum ought to discuss the draft state budget at its next meeting in March.

As is stated in a communique from the meeting of Vladimir Meciar's cabinet, the draft budget is based on the following macroeconomic assumptions—GDP growth of up to 5 percent, rate of inflation of under 10 percent, and a rate of unemployment not exceeding 14 percent. The budget envisages a deficit of 21.0 billion Slovak korunas [Sk], with projected revenue of Sk146.4 billion and projected expenditure of Sk167.4 billion. When factors influencing the government's fiscal position are taken into consideration, the state budget envisages a deficit that does not exceed 3 percent of the projected GDP level.

"The draft budget guarantees vital functions of the state and transfer payments to citizens to which they have a legal claim. State liabilities toward foreign and domestic creditors will be covered exclusively from state budget resources. On the other hand, the program of public investments will be funded predominantly from extrabudgetary resources," states the government communique, which became the sole source of information on the government session (the meeting ended Wednesday morning, at 0235 hours).

Tuesday night the government also approved the draft General Agreement for 1995 and instructed the prime minister to sign it by 20 February at the latest (originally, the General Agreement was to be signed yesterday). Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Kalman was assigned the task of submitting to the government within one month after signing the General Agreement a timetable of the fulfillment of obligations arising from the document. [passage omitted]

Yesterday, the government recalled Vladimir Vydareny from the post of Senica District Office chairman and appointed, with effect from today, Martin Podmajersky to that post.

Provisions of Budget Outlined

AU2102073695 Bratislava SME in Slovak 17 Feb 95 pp 1-2

[Article by "agt": "Draft Law on State Budget Envisages Sk21 Billion Deficit"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] committees are about to start debating the draft law on the state budget for 1995. We have selected the most substantial parts of the draft:

The submitted draft is based on the Slovak Government Policy Statement, giving a specific shape to its intention

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to lay the foundations for a new quality of economic strategy and a progrowth macroeconomic policy. Economic development will obtain its dynamism mainly from investment activities, which will be realized in the form of public investment projects with subsequent multiplier effects. However, these developmental activities will not be financed predominantly from state budget resources but will be covered from extrabudgetary funds: by bank and National Property Fund of the Slovak Republic resources and by investment by entrepreneurial entities and foreign capital.

The draft puts total state budget revenue at 146.4 billion Slovak korunas [Sk], while expenditure should amount to Sk167.4 billion. The 1995 state budget deficit is projected to amount to Sk21 billion, which is, essentially, 4.6 percent of the projected GDP. When several factors are taken into consideration, by which the state budget deficit is adjusted according to IMF methodology, the state budget deficit is reduced to 3 percent of GDP. The draft is based on the assumption that debt-servicing expenditure, which will total Sk29.7 billion, will be covered from state budget resources. This concerns, first and foremost, payment of interest on budget deficits incurred prior to 1 January 1993 and liabilities assumed by the Slovak Republic in the wake of the partition of the Czechoslovak Federation.

A specific feature of the draft state budget is that, in the first quarter of 1995, budget management takes place under the conditions of a provisional budget. Once the draft is approved, the limits and binding tasks set for individual budget chapters during the period of the provisional budget will become part of the annually allocated state budget resources and will be included in the final account of the state budget.

Community budgets will receive from the state budget aggregate subsidies of Sk1.192 billion, Sk972 million of which is earmarked for municipal public transportation.

The State Gas Industry will surrender to the state budget a special levy of Sk1.2 billion from its after-tax profit. The State Road Management Fund will receive Sk1 billion from the proceeds of the consumption tax levied on hydrocarbon fuels and lubricants.

A total of 79.73 percent of proceeds from the personal income tax will go to the state budget and 20.27 percent to community budgets, while 95.49 percent of proceeds from the corporate income tax will go to the state budget and 4.51 percent to community budgets. Community budgets will receive 30 percent of proceeds from the road tax collected by the internal revenue authorities. Proceeds from the real estate tax will go to the community or municipal district in charge of administering the tax. The draft introduces the possibility for internal revenue authorities to grant relief from penalties, fines, interest rates, and extra taxes. Until now, only the Ministry of Finance could grant such exemptions.

Part of the proceeds, totalling Sk2 billion, from the sale of investment coupons according to a special regulation (Article 23 of Law Number 92/1991 on the Conditions of Transferring State Property to Other Persons, as modified by subsequent NRSR amendments) goes to the state budget. It is assumed that the balance on the special account will be sufficient for the purposes of coupon privatization.

The state will pay insurance premiums amounting to 13.7 percent of 54 percent of minimum wages.

The draft expands the government's authority to assume state guarantees even for bonds issued by entrepreneurs. The aim of this measure is to facilitate the implementation of projects of special importance for economic recovery. It authorizes the government to assume state guarantees for bonds issued by entrepreneurial entities based in the Slovak Republic, and for bank credits extended to entrepreneurs based in the Slovak Republic, for the implementation of government-approved developmental programs and priorities. The state guarantees can add up to 40 percent of projected budget revenue.

Sitek Discusses Topical Military Issues

AU2002203695 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 11 Feb 95 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Slovak Defense Minister Jan Sitek, "prepared by" Juraj Alner and Martin Hric in Bratislava; date not given: "Defense Minister J. Sitek Does Not Consider the Difficulty Between NATO and Moscow To Be Too Serious"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [NARODNA OBRODA] The former cabinet drafted the most substantial conceptual documents for this department. What do you think you can follow up on and what do you think it is necessary to modify?

[Sitek] As far as defense issues are concerned, we think it is necessary to specify their objectives more precisely. Their concretization should be reflected in the draft law on defense. Although the coordinator of this fundamental document is the Defense Ministry, the Economy, Foreign, and Interior Ministries also play a part in drafting it. We would like to submit it to the government in accordance with the approved agenda for the Slovak Government's tasks in 1995.

[NARODNA OBRODA] And what about changes?

[Sitek] Step-by-step changes up to the year 2000 were originally envisaged. I think that it is necessary to work out a specific timetable for a longer period, up to the year 2005.

[NARODNA OBRODA] What hopes do the provisional budget and the draft state budget provide for the department's concept?

[Sitek] Of the several concepts for the army's restructuring and the defense strategy, it is necessary to choose the one for which we have funds. It will be necessary to amend once again the Law on the Army No. 3/93, which

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was amended the year it was passed. The issue involves considerably flexible jurisdiction between the Defense Ministry and the General Staff. The minister is responsible; but he has limited powers to appoint or recall functionaries.

[NARODNA OBRODA] The election program of the Slovak National Party [SNS], which you represent in the government, is not identical to the government's policy statement. What is your view on this problem?

[Sitek] I myself took part in drafting the SNS's election program and I think that a substantial part has been worked into the government's program. For example, a methodically organized system for patriotic training, the use of the Slovak language in service, the concept of civil defense applied in many states, and so on.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Let us be more specific about the language issue. The ASV [Association of Slovak Soldiers] is warning that the supreme commander's order is being violated. The General Staff has received no such reports. What about you?

[Sitek] The army's supreme commander, the Slovak president, issued this order, based on my suggestion, three days after I was appointed. It is inconceivable that in any army anywhere, including the French Foreign Legion, subordinates could not understand an order for linguistic reasons. However, I also do not have any information that this order is being violated.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Let us put it differently: Would you expel from the army a top technician or expert because he does not have a good command of Slovak?

[Sitek] (With a smile) I cannot imagine that there is a technician capable of mastering state-of-the-art technology but not his service language.

[NARODNA OBRODA] All the same, however, there is a certain dilemma between our inclination toward NATO and Moscow—this is a more fundamental issue than the natural need for patriotic training or the language question, is it not?

[Sitek] The government's policy statement defines, precisely and bindingly, Slovakia's attitude toward the Partnership for Peace program and the European security structures; Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar also confirmed this during his visit to Brussels. The dilemma with Moscow is not so serious as it seems at first glance. The situation in Russia is complicated; it is compelling the country's representatives to talk about it in the way they are talking about it. In the longer term, of course, there are ideas for forming a Pan-European security system in which Russia would participate and not feel threatened by.

[NARODNA OBRODA] (We handed the minister a photocopy from the Austrian daily KURIER in which, during his visit to Vienna, he was supposed to have said that our cooperation with Russia will strengthen stability in Europe. Austrian reaction to this statement was, to put it mildly, one of bewilderment.) What do you have to say about this, Minister?

[Sitek] Russia was not discussed at all during my talks with my Austrian counterpart. Our discussion exclusively concerned defining precisely the project for our bilateral cooperation; of the 37 activities involved in our mutual cooperation, we are guaranteeing 19 and our Austrian partners are guaranteeing 18.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Military strategists and geopoliticians are viewing with some anxiety the conflict in Yugoslavia and the continuing disputes between Israel and its Muslim neighbors. Do we have an alternative ready in case these local conflicts grow into a bigger conflict: north versus south or Islam against Christianity?

[Sitek] No. We do not envisage such an escalation of local conflicts in the foreseeable future.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Interpersonnel relations or, to be more precise, bullying is one of the problems in the army. Your predecessor even dealt with this by setting up a ministerial telephone hot line. And you?

[Sitek] I am fully aware of this problem, which, unfortunately, is on the increase. I am looking at a solution to this comprehensively. The Section for the Development and Provision of Human Resources is working out an extensive system gradually to eliminate this blight. We are also considering involving the chaplaincy service; it should be operating directly in the units as of 1 September. Of course, we will carry on with the "telephone hot line" at the General Staff; it will be available 24 hours a day. I also take an interest in this matter during my visits to the units, which, of course, are not advertised. I am not interested in prepared "well ordered" stage productions.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Yet another classic issue is our industry's state-of-the-art products. Its innovative tank, the Zuzana [howitzer], the Tatrapan [armored vehicle], radio-controlled mine removers, and even its banal sleeping bags are unexportable, while our army cannot provide a demonstration of enough, so to speak, samples. You have already ordered two Tatrapans. What is next in the current financial situation?

[Sitek] I am proclaiming very loudly everywhere that money for the army is also money for stimulating many spheres of our economy. I consider the mine remover to be a state-of-the-art product that is extremely attractive to our sappers in UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]. We have agreed with the manufacturer from Krupina that it will lend us two of them for practical tests free of charge. We are offering foreign parties interested in the state-of-the-art Zuzana howitzer with an expert and service for three months so they can try out the Zuzana under their own conditions. So far, we have proceeded rather hesitantly in helping our producers. A more

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resolute course of action, despite the current financial situation, may and must mean a turnaround in manufacturing, in the economy.

[NARODNA OBRODA] The army has committed itself somewhat to the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising. What are your plans for the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the end of the war.

[Sitek] The program will be defined at the government session on Tuesday [14 February]; you will find out about it at the press briefing. A government commission headed by a deputy prime minister should be responsible for the preparations. The program will be in harmony with our financial possibilities. There will probably be a military parade on 6 May. Those weapons systems that could damage roads will not take part in it; they will be on display separately. This date was chosen because the participation of foreign representatives is envisaged. Our political and government representatives will also take part in celebrations abroad; we are adjusting the timetable.

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Finance Minister Candidate Discusses Program

LD1902215195 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 19 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Hungary consumes one finance minister a year, on average. [passage omitted]

From 1 March, Lajos Bokros will be the successor of the present finance minister, Laszlo Bekesi. The new finance minister candidate will be heard by the parliament's relevant committee next week, but nothing really new can be expected, for Bokros's 25-point program is already widely known. It seems that the new supreme economic minister will insist on his 25-point program. Before going to details, let me quote only three of them: teamwork, openness, clean hands. [passage omitted] Without institutional changes we are facing either insolvency or endless economic depression.

[Begin Bokros recording] Without these reforms we will forever have to face a situation when the country's economy grows for a year or two, and in the following two to three years we will have to introduce serious restrictions to reestablish the financial equilibrium which went wrong in the previous period of growth. I am of the view that in the history of economy there have been examples—I referred to them in my 25-point program—which demonstrate that these two things, growth and equilibrium, do not necessarily have to prevail at the expense of each other. [passage omitted] [end recording]

The reform of state finances means, primarily but not exclusively, the restructuring of human infrastructure, the restriction of free provisions.

[Begin Bokros recording] There are huge income differentials in this country. Some have been getting ever richer. Ever increasing assets have been accumulated in the hands of a decreasing number of people. On the other hand, hundreds of thousands, if not millions, become marginalized.

I am of the view, that this reform of state finances cannot and will not mean that the situation of the most needy would get worse than now. On the other hand, I can certainly say that this reform will create a situation everywhere in education, health care, pension provisions, and other fields, when somebody who would like to obtain provisions above the basic level, the subsistence level, he or she will have to buy those provisions on the market of these services, on the insurance market, or he or she has to pay contributions to a pension fund, in addition to the social insurance fund. [passage omitted] [end recording]

The internal structure of ministries and government offices and their mutual relations have to be reviewed within a short period. Their tasks have to be redefined, occasionally large-scale staff reductions will become necessary.

[Begin Bokros recording] There are people even in these bureaucratic institutions who do their job on a very high level, and there are others who are paid, for all practical purposes, unnecessarily. I am of the view that employees of the former category of high quality employees should be paid more than now, for now they earn only about a tenth of the salary of similar employees in the business sector. [passage omitted] On the other hand, those who do not perform on an appropriate level should be happy with the present level, for this salary should be considered as a kind of unemployment benefit. [end recording]

Privatization is not an end in itself, but means of company restructuring and efficiency increase. There are no other aims which are as important as these ones.

[Begin Bokros recording] Indeed, a very rough original accumulation of capital is taking place in this country. It is another question whether it has to be as rough and scandalous as it is now. Unfortunately, these scandals and malpractices which accompany privatization were built in this process at the time when the company law in 1988 and, to an even larger extent, the law on transformation in 1989 practically institutionalized and legalized all the privatization methods which now make possible any kind of legal abuse and which, since then, can only be criticized from a moral or political point of view. [end recording]

Enterprises' Development Plans for 1995 Viewed

AU1802160495 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Feb 95 p 11

[Article by Zsuzsa Regos: "Tough Fight for Credit"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the researchers of the Economic Research Institue Inc., a 5-percent growth of investments can be expected in Hungary. The Industry and Trade Ministry [IKM] is more optimistic because its experts are expecting a repeat of last year's—measured at real value—25 percent growth. Of course the big question is what will happen next year and in the following years, because it will only be possible from 1997 to properly measure the effects of this year's restrictive financial policy that curbs consumption. It is now that the investors are deciding whether to invest then.

After the ebb in 1992, investments have again gathered momentum. Increasing investments and exports are the precondition of achieving a foreign economic balance. However, money is needed to achieve these goals. In the view of IKM division head Tamas Kirilly, even for loans for current assets, the majority of enterprises have to go through a tough battle. In his view, only those enterprises which prove that they are doing so well that they do not actually need a loan can get loans in Hungary. Therefore, the better ones turn to foreign financial institutions where they can get loans on much more favorable conditions than at home. These loans are given on a

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longer term and at lower interest rates. The only problem is that the assessment of the new applicants takes some 18 months, Kirilly says.

The lack of money cannot be felt so much in the processing industry. Almost all the privatized enterprises are preparing for investments. Some of the foreign ones concentrate their energies on product development—for example, Electrolux-Lehel, General Electric Tungsram, Suzuki, and others. Samsung is expanding its business, Ganz-Ansaldo is moving to a new site, and Philips and Zeiss are building a new factory. The better among the enterprises owned by Hungarians are doing the same: Graboplast is improving its production, and Videoton is building a new cable manufacturing line.

Construction industry forecasts are more pessimistic. The main reason is that there will be fewer infrastructure investments commissioned by the state this year. For example, highway development will decrease by 60 percent compared to last year. Airport developments, major bridge constructions, and combined transport systems are being prepared at the moment. Their effects will not be felt before next year. The public institutions of health service, education, and culture are being overhauled in accordance with the decreasing budget facilities. For various reasons, the so-called Europe Center investment costing 2.5 billion Hungarian forints [HUF] and the office building of the national and Budapest police headquarters costing HUF6 billion are being delayed. The office building in Hold street costing HUF700 million and the Vienna Corner Center for the same amount [both in Budapest], the HUF1.8 billion malt factory in Dunaujvaros, and the HUF400 million clinker silo of the Danube Cement Works have to be completed this year.

The Borsod county reorganization program will give the bulk of the iron and steel industry investments. Construction of a mini steel-works at the Ozd Steel Works Ltd. costing HUF4 billion, a HUF1-billion modernization of the Rod and Wire Mill, and the development of waste preparation estimated at HUF200 million will be started. The modernization of the Diosgyor Steel Works Ltd., which will cost more than HUF3 billion, will also be started. The Salgotarjan Steel Mill Inc. and the Wire Product and Cable Ltd. (the former 4 December Wire Factory) are preparing for environmental protection and production development investments. After the long-drawn struggles with debtor consolidation, development can at last be started at the Csepel Pipe Factory Inc.—the planned costs amount to HUF420 million. At the Sheet Rolling Mill Worker Ltd., expansion, development, and the introduction of new products are expected to cost HUF205 million. At the Dunaferr Inc., the power station's furnaces will be restored and the mill will be developed. The total value of the planned investments can be estimated at HUF7.65 billion forints. The Csepel Metal Factory Inc. will develop its foundry equipment and products. As for aluminum smeltering, the companies of the Hungalu Inc. wish to spend rather large amounts of money this year. For example, the Bakony Bauxite Mine Ltd. is spending HUF18 million on restarting the mines. The Aloxid Ltd. is spending almost HUF476 million on buying steam boilers, creating a quality control system, and many other purposes. The value of investments will exceed HUF80 million at the Ajka Aluminum Ltd. this year.

Chemical companies are also planning significant investments. The larger part of the expenditure will go toward production and a smaller part to environmental protection. For example, in the Borsodchem Inc., PVC [polyvinyl chloride] prodcuction will be renewed on the basis of a three-year program that, including infrastructure, environmental protection, and computer technology investments, will cost HUF1.4 billion this year. The goal of the TVK [Tisza Integrated Chemical Works] Inc. is to revamp its olefin production and to better protect the environment. This year, the cost is expected to be between HUF1.6 billion and HUF1.9 billion. The Alkaloida Inc. and the Biogal Inc. will spend HUF800 million each on improving production, and the pharmaceutical companies altogether will develop their production at a cost of HUF9 billion. The Taurus Inc. is also preparing for a significant, almost HUF1.3 billion investment: It is expanding its truck tire production capacity and will modernize its Nyiregyhaza and Budapest plants.

In addition to the aforementioned investments, many other enterprises are also planning developments from their own resources or loans, and many are applying for support from the central technical development fund and the environmental fund.

MDF Officer Views Position, Criticizes Government

AU2002105095 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Feb 95 pp 1, 6

[Interview with MDF Deputy Chairman Sandor Lezsak by Lajos Pogonyi; place and date not given: "Lezsak: The MDF Does Not Forget"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Pogonyi] You often visit the provinces and meet many people. What are the people in the villages saying? And what are the views of young people?

[Lezsak] A party is fit for life if it has its roots in domestic and international reality and is able to organize from this reality a social and economic image and program for the future that can be implemented. My experience, which coincides with the findings of the public opinion research institutions and the contents of letters sent to deputies, is that there is a high level of disappointment and mistrust in the government in the country. People are not only disappointed with politics but they cannot see their future, either.

[Pogonyi] Are you again experiencing the mood of "the world is only one day"?

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[Lezsak] I am experiencing something worse. People sometimes feel a complete lack of a future. Many dare not even think about the April electricity bill. Defensive reflexes are bound to be formed in the meantime. They are trying to mobilize their reserves, but even these are exhausted.

[Pogonyi] I will ask again: What do young people say? Where are they now in the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]?

[Lezsak] All parties are seeking young people. Seemingly, the MDF could even be satisfied with the fact that a large number of the new entrants are in their 20's, 30's, or 40's. A change of generation is taking place in the MDF's local leadership. This also applies to the local governments. This will probably also mean a complete or partial change of style. [passage omitted]

[Pogonyi] In your view, what can be the reason for the still much higher popularity of the current government parties over the opposition, in spite of the disappointments?

[Lezsak] Perhaps the fact that a sound instinct for survival and the ability to get information are in operation. In this situation, a government crisis or the collapse of the government would be followed by political uncertainty that would endanger even bigger values.

[Pogonyi] What do you mean?

[Lezsak] It would completely destroy the political and economic stability and international recognition, which were values of the Antall and Boross governments. People cannot yet see an alternative and are afraid of the increasing chaos and disorder. [passage omitted]

[Pogonyi] We have already mentioned the government. Let us now talk about the civic alliance between the MDF and the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ]. Do you approve of this?

[Lezsak] I naturally approve of it. This is what I also did at our executive committee meeting. The opposition parties must get to know each other.

[Pogonyi] Did you not know the FIDESZ?

[Lezsak] Relations between an opposition and government party are completely different. At such times, they seek their differences. When an alliance is formed, then they search for the areas where they are identical.

[Pogonyi] Is the MDF not bothered by the fact that last spring the FIDESZ was urging the replacement of the Boross government? Previously, [FIDESZ Chairman] Viktor Orban also said that the government was lying. Does the MDF forget so quickly?

[Lezsak] The MDF does not forget. The point is that the FIDESZ of the past four years is not the same as the current FIDESZ. Even the people are different because some of the leaders have left. This can be felt in the FIDESZ's correct attitude. Naturally, we do have bad experiences with the FIDESZ. The coming months and years will decide to what extent we will be able to process these and place them into historical archives. [passage omitted]

[Pogonyi] I believe you are still in the area of culture even though you are a politician. Is it true that the Kulturkampf is here again or is it only a staged show?

[Lezsak] I would not like to join those people who are trying to make [Minister for Education and Culture] Gabor Fodor's position impossible. My opinion in much more serious than this. It seems that the Hungarian intelligentsia needed this practical experience to gain a full picture of what kind of lasting injuries and dangers a pseudo-liberal cultural policy can bring. The lessons can form a historical experience. When the MDF was making predictions on this, this was thought to be scare-mongering. Now the intelligentsia itself can directly feel the significance of the danger.

[Pogonyi] In your view, how much say does the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] have in cultural management?

[Lezsak] I would not like to say much about this. I was convinced that, using the information in its possession, the MSZP would have used the previous four years in Parliament to create and then implement a program. This is not what happened. A tragic accident is the outcome of the meeting and clash of the MSZP and the SZDSZ. In education, the injuries will take more than eight days to heal [reference to Penal Code terminology], and I agree with those who predict the possibility of long-term impairment.

Nagy Assesses Government Economic Program

AU2002110595 Budapest TALLOZO in Hungarian 16 Feb p 311

[Interview with Sandor Nagy, chairman of the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions, by Peter Kurucz broadcast on NAP TV on 6 February: "The Government Program Can Continue"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Kurucz] Can the Bekesi-program be continued?

[Nagy] I never like to connect a program to a name, because economic issues are so broad that a single person can hardly cover them. The program started by this government can probably be continued with very great difficulties. I must add, however, that we must also face the task of carrying out necessary corrections, namely the fact that the restrictive policy has not been able to put the Hungarian economy on its feet in the past 15 years.

[Kurucz] So you say that, in addition to this, a modernization program should begin.

[Nagy] We should start such a program if there were such a program. The problem is that there is no such program

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at the moment. There is a government program and a program currently being formulated. [passage omitted]

[Kurucz] What if the new finance minister starts a certain program? Will you support him if he says that this is the Bekesi-program?

[Nagy] I think that if the government was serious in wanting to work out a three-year economic policy program in addition to the current government program, the question cannot be reduced to whether we should support an existing program or not. If this activity is serious, we must think every aspect over. I do not see any rational alternative to trying to reduce the serious balance deficit and, in this respect, I have always shared the opinion of Laszlo Bekesi. On all the other issues and on the possible scopes, I think there are things that have to be reevaluated.

[Kurucz] If things do not happen this way, what will you say regarding the coalition as a whole? It is well known that you have been criticizing the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] for allegedly striving for extra weight.

[Nagy] I think my opinion about this is the least interesting here. The important thing is the extent to which Hungary's economy and general mood will change.

I think that if we fail to tackle the issues that affect the economic development decisively, like the issue of foreign trade balance, ways of increasing exports, and ways to relatively reduce imports, then it makes no difference whose program we are talking about because the Hungarian economy will not get on its feet, and then the political situation will force the changes.

[Kurucz] You said that even if the SZDSZ stays in this coalition, a big coalition would be much more comforting.

[Nagy] Yes, I have always believed in this.

[Kurucz] Including the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP]?

[Nagy] I have always claimed that, given its historical situation, potential, and internal configuration, Hungary needs a government model based on the broadest possible pillars, and I include here the presence of moderate Christian conservative forces. [passage omitted]

Czech Prime Minister on Relations With Hungary

LD2002203995 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 20 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Gyula Horn will pay a one-day visit to Prague on 27 February at the invitation of the Czech prime minister. On this occasion Vaclav Klaus received representatives of the Hungarian electronic and written press, including our colleague Peter Nyaradi. Here is Nyaradi's report:

[Nyaradi] Relations between the Czech Republic and Hungary—following the post-war nadir and the artificial enthusiasm of the Socialist period, which was hyped up in an unhealthy manner—is just beginning to return to what is normal and usual in European relations. This is how Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus began the conversation when he received a group of Hungarian journalists one week prior to the visit of his counterpart Gyula Horn.

After this I asked the Czech prime minister what kind of cooperation was conceivable between the Central European countries, which had maintained close relations earlier; if in the meantime Prague was showing itself dissatisfied even with the so-called Visegrad cooperation, which was quietly fading.

This is how Vaclav Klaus began his reply: I was waiting to see when somebody would use the expression Visegrad. But then I always ask: How do you spell it? [preceding sentence in English] In other words: What is meant by Visegrad? This is how Vaclav Klaus began his reply.

But seriously, I do not think that the lengthy debates about Visegrad have helped to strengthen this form of cooperation—Klaus said. Neither do I believe—he added—that now that we no longer speak about it our relations with each other are any the worse. This is just playing with words, Vaclav Klaus said, and added: Our relations with each other existed even before Visegrad and I am convinced that also in the future they will be excellent.

How far we will be able to utilize our existing relations to enrich ourselves and one another with the experiences that we will be gaining individually in the course of the talks due to begin shortly, with the EU for example—is a different question. We would be stupid not to make use of these possibilities. But I emphasize: This exchange of opinions is only worthwhile if it provides some benefit.

On the other hand, Vaclav Klaus said, we fundamentally reject the idea of setting up a collective organization that will begin a dialogue in our place—on our behalf, with the EU for example, the Czech prime minister said.

Afterward I asked him what he thought about the fact that the Brussels center does, after all, speak on behalf of a significant group of countries, and that in addition it was starting dialogue with the Central European member designates with a well thought-out and well-oiled mechanism, and not in the too distant future either. In this sense would it not be a mistake to renounce the possibility of coordination and perhaps even consultation?

I do not believe in this kind of cooperation. For instance, let us take marriage as a frivolous example. If your colleague has got married, it is no use your going before your own wedding to ask his advice what to do. You will not receive useful advice on any point. If there is any sense in closer cooperation in anything, then it might be,

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for instance, the topic of the EU's present situation, its future aspect, its future set-up. All the same, I am convinced that there are fairly considerable differences between the right-wing conservative Czech Government and the left-wing Hungarian Government on these issues and in the related standpoints, Vaclav Klaus said.

After this the Czech prime minister said: The two countries' present relationship is determined by the fact that from a similar past they are heading toward a similar future. Although in this situation every state is responsible for itself and to itself, it is probable that the Czech Republic and Hungary will remain close. This is also what logic dictates, on the basis of what has gone before, Klaus said.

As for the two countries' economic relations, in this connection Vaclav Klaus had the following to say: As a result of the development of the past five years, today the individual governments or prime ministers do not have too much scope for increasing cooperation. What the two countries were able to do was to create the framework. This has already been done and, henceforth, it is not easy to imagine state-planned economic cooperation. It depends on the enterprises, the plants, the traders; on how far they will look for new markets with a healthy aggressiveness—the Czechs in Hungary and the Hungarians here. What I expect, added Klaus, is that as a result of this to a certain extent the earlier situation will be restored, and many consumers will also realize that those Hungarian or those Czech goods are not as bad as all that, even if they are not as decoratively wrapped as the Western ones. The Czech Republic, incidentally, is endeavoring to open up its economy to the world as soon as possible, and one of the most important steps in this process will be the introduction of the full convertibility of the Czech crown, and we will be taking the first steps in this regard this year, Vaclav Klaus told Hungarian journalists.

In connection with this, the Czech prime minister said that in his opinion a Central European Free Trade Agreement, in other words CEFTA, will also promote this process. Klaus added: In his view nobody in the Czech Republic is worried about appearing or competing on each other's markets. However, it is not certain that your government, or the Polish Government, can say this about themselves, said Klaus.

Finally, when asked his opinion about the left-wing government in Hungary and the right-wing government in the Czech Republic, and the fact that in practice the Czech Republic is the only one in the region to have retained its right-wing administration following the 1989 turnabout, Klaus said the following:

There exists between the Czech Republic and Hungary a certain difference of outlook that derives from the difference between the governments. For a government to be able to remain in power continuously requires that there stand behind it a very strong, well-organized party that it is easy to understand and support. In the Czech Republic there does exist a strong conservative, right-wing party of this kind, and in my opinion—Klaus said—this is where the difference lies with the other central European countries. In those countries there is no such strong Conservative Party capable of functioning. That is why left-wing groupings were able to come to power. This is also why relations are lukewarm between the Czech and Hungarian right-wing groupings. They barely exist. What is more, one does not even find Hungarian conservative political players in international life. Yet without this they can hardly be expected to return to lead the country. This is how Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus ended his conversation with Hungarian journalists.

Officers Arrest Polish Heroin Smugglers

AU1902214695 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 15 Feb 95 p 5

[Article by Andrei Velea: "15 Kilograms of Heroin Seized on the Romanian-Hungarian Border"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Hungarian customs officers of the Gyula border crossing point between Romania and Hungary discovered 15 kg of heroin in a car registered in Poland. The automobile in question had just crossed over from Romania, Mihaly Novak, chief of the Gyula customs cited by France Presse, announced yesterday.

The entire quantity of heroin was hidden cunningly in the car's gasoline tank, revealed the aforementioned sources. The two Polish citizens travelling in the car, a man and a woman, were arrested by the Hungarian authorities.

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Russia's Chernomyrdin Visits, Meets Leaders

LD1702143495 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1418 GMT 17 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 17 Feb—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin arrived in Warsaw today on a two-day official visit.

The head of the Russian Government and Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak will chair plenary talks of the two governmental delegations, due to start this afternoon. It is expected that the talks will focus mainly on economic cooperation. Issues concerning Polish- Russian political relations and European security are also to be discussed. The Polish side also expects to be briefed on the situation in Chechnya.

Several bilateral agreements are to be signed during the visit, including a protocol on building the transit gas pipeline from Russia through Poland to Western Europe, and also agreements on cooperation between customs of both countries and on sea fishing.

Prime Minister Chernomyrdin will be received tonight by President Lech Walesa, and on Saturday he will meet Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy and Senate Speaker Adam Struzik.

Meets With Walesa

LD1702231695 Warsaw PAP in Polish 2044 GMT 17 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 17 Feb—"Last year was a year of missed opportunities. Processes in various fields have been stopped. We must think about the reasons and where we do not understand each other. Poland's and Russia's possibilities are much greater," President Lech Walesa said today in the Presidential Palace while welcoming Viktor Chernomyrdin, the Russian Federation premier, who is paying an official visit to Poland. This was reported today by the president's press office.

The most important topics of the one-hour conversation were those connected with Poland's and Russia's stance toward Poland's striving for full NATO membership. The Russian prime minister confirmed the well-known position of his country on this issue. The president of the Polish Republic recalled President Boris Yeltsin's declarations in Warsaw about the lack of contradictions of Poland's attempts to join the alliance with Russia's interests. He stressed that joining NATO is not aimed against Russia. Our intention is to move the borders of stability and security. Poland's decisions on this issue remain and will be sovereign. "You know our position: We will make every effort to join NATO and we will not ask Russia about doing so," President Walesa said.

During the meeting the subjects discussed also concerned the processes of difficult economic reforms in both countries and their effects, as well as about Polish and Russian economic cooperation.

Premier Chernomyrdin said that "the direction of reforms in Russia has been decided, and the road we have taken is the only one".

"Changes that have been taking place in Europe are processes of great challenges," President Lech Walesa said. "After such experiences and common history we should rise as high as possible, understand each other well, and serve our nations," the president stressed.

Talks With Oleksy

LD1802132395 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1200 GMT 18 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, who is on an official visit to Poland, held talks with Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy for over an hour and a half today. According to the speaker, the conversation was open and also covered all difficult issues. We said that one cannot choose one's neighbors and it is worthwhile living as good neighbors and having friendly relations, Oleksy said.

[Begin Oleksy recording] This is the starting point for shaping the future on the basis of agreements which will be signed today and on the basis of what we discussed with Mr. Chernomyrdin as being necessary to do in the near future. I am very pleased with this visit because I also spoke as a possible prime minister designate. [end recording]

Seven Polish-Russian intergovernmental agreements and joint declarations of prime ministers on economic cooperation will be signed at the end of Viktor Chernomyrdin's visit.

Further on Oleksy

LD1802134895 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1328 GMT 18 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 18 Feb—Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy met today with Russian Federation Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin the Information Office of the Sejm Chancellery announced on Saturday.

"We have been awaiting your visit with great attention. It has economic and political dimensions, and is a step toward warmer mutual relations," Oleksy said greeting his guest.

Next, he briefed the Russian prime minister on the present political situation in Poland. He stated that trade turnover between Poland and Russia is growing, but it is necessary to create the infrastructure for many joint ventures, for example in the banking system, the communique says.

Prime Minister Chernomyrdin invited the Polish side to take part in joint projects, such as construction of highways and railway lines. Documents and agreements signed in Poland will provide a very good foundation for the expansion of cooperation. He came out in favor of

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normal and concrete cooperation without entirely forgetting the past, as not everything in the past had been bad.

"We do not support a speedy expansion of NATO; we are in favor of cooperation within the Partnership for Peace," Prime Minister Chernomyrdin emphasized. He said that Central and Eastern Europe need a joint system of security and not new divisions and mechanisms leading to isolation.

Both partners agreed on the need to reform the UN structures, including the Security Council.

"One cannot choose one's neighbors, but we can be good neighbors," Speaker Oleksy said, concluding the meeting.

Comments on Protests

LD1802170995 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1640 GMT 18 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 18 Feb—Asked for a comment on the Friday protests against his visit, organized by Polish supporters of Chechnya's independence, Prime Minister of Russia Viktor Chernomyrdin told journalists today that "it was not pleasant", but these protests "did not get in the way and never will".

"We know who is behind it, we know that this is not the whole Poland and not the whole Polish nation," Chernomyrdin said, adding that now the most important is [as received] "what we did today and what we decided to do in future". "Nobody has managed to prevent this," he assured.

Struzik Assesses Talks

LD1802145495 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1319 GMT 18 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 18 Feb—In the early afternoon of 18 February, after a meeting with Russian Federation Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, Senate Speaker Adam Struzik told a PAP correspondent that the conversation was very interesting but quite difficult. Although there were especially differences on security issues, the conversation took place in a good atmosphere. Struzik also stressed that Prime Minister Chernomyrdin pointed out that only neighbors can talk in this manner.

Struzik said there were clear objections on the part of the Russian prime minister during the talks on security and on Poland's aspirations for NATO membership. The Russian side thinks that NATO's presence in close proximity to Russia would awaken nationalistic forces inside the country, and the result, as far as security is concerned, would be detrimental if they took over power. Struzik said that these arguments should be respected but also analyzed.

He added that his arguments that our aspirations for NATO membership should not mean confrontation or seeking an enemy "were not fully accepted".

The talks between the speaker and Russian prime minister were also about economic matters. We were able to communicate much more easily in this regard, Struzik said.

Pawlak Urges More Trade

LD1702180195 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1714 GMT 17 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 17 Feb—Following a private meeting between the prime ministers of Poland and Russia, and after plenary talks on Polish-Russian economic cooperation, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak told journalists that the Russian Federation is the third trade partner of Poland, and for many years there has been a negative balance on the Polish side in mutual trade. Our position is determined by the imports of oil and gas.

Pawlak added that it should be important for Poland that Russia purchases more Polish goods. Polish companies can greatly contribute to the increase of exports to the Russian market.

Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin did not meet journalists; he left for a meeting with President Lech Walesa.

The conclusion of the plenary talks and the signing of a number of economic agreements between Poland and Russia is expected tomorrow.

Joint Declaration Signed

LD1802142195 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1413 GMT 18 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 18 Feb—Trade and Industry Minister Marek Pol and Russian Vice Premier Oleg Davydov today signed a protocol on the construction of a transit gas pipeline from Russia to Western Europe via Poland.

Prime Ministers Waldemar Pawlak and Viktor Chernomyrdin signed a join declaration on the development of mutual economic contacts.

Chernomyrdin Ends Visit

LD1802151195 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1504 GMT 18 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 18 Feb—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin this afternoon ended his two-day official visit to Poland.

After a farewell ceremony outside the Council of Ministers Office, attended by Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak, Chernomyrdin went to Warsaw Airport and left for Kaliningrad.

Commentary Assesses Visit

WS2002151695 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Feb 95 p 5

[Commentary by Slawomir Popowski: "A Normal Visit"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] Victor Chernomyrdin held talks on economic issues with two prime ministers—the outgoing Waldemar Pawlak, and his prospective replacement, Jozef Oleksy. Whatever one says, from the point of view of diplomacy, the situation was quite ambiguous.

Truly speaking, what is really important is that after a long stalemate in Polish-Russian relations a discussion of the most vital issues pertaining to economic cooperation was finally held. We can only hope that attempts at separating economics from politics (let us remember the pretexts for calling the visit off last fall) will be continued in the future.

That would be the best approach. There may exist political differences and even conflicts of interest, but—first of all—they need not necessarily lead to confrontation, secondly—they should not rule out cooperation where possible. Even if lengthy and difficult talks are necessary to reach agreement.

Did Prime Minister Chernomyrdin's visit meet our expectations in that regard? It depends on how you look at it. The Russian side strongly stressed the visit's pragmatic, economic character. Considering, however, the importance and scale of the gas pipeline construction project, it is difficult to say whether it will enliven trade relations. It probably cannot. It is no coincidence, on the other hand, that the main topic at a meeting held between Prime Minister Chernomyrdin and Polish businessmen was the need to allow a Polish bank to operate in the Russia market so as to facilitate servicing trade transactions with our eastern neighbors.

It is even more difficult to evaluate the "political" effects of the visit. It is true that on such issues as European security or our membership in NATO, Prime Minister Chernomyrdin spoke in softer tones, but—first of all—they were addressed to an entirely different audience, secondly—they did not really differ much from the official stance of Russian diplomacy and from what President Yeltsin has already said. It therefore remains very difficult to predict whether political dialogue between Moscow and Warsaw will spark or whether we will have to wait for another chance.

Russians Want Chechen Information Center Closed

LD2002175795 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1554 GMT 20 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 20 Feb—The Russian Embassy in Warsaw wants the Chechen Information Center in Krakow closed down. The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MSZ] believes that the Krakow organization affiliates private persons who are involved in humanitarian aid for Chechnya, which "does not constitute an act that is unfriendly or hostile" toward Russia.

On the 13th of this month, Krzysztof Sliwinski, the MSZ spokesman, received a note from the Russian Embassy that said that certain named persons, Russian Federation citizens, had opened the so-called "Chechen Information Bureau" in Krakow, and which demanded that it be closed down. The MSZ replied that a team coordinating the humanitarian aid for the victims of the war in Chechnya had been established and that it was working irrespective of nationality and faith of the victims, and that the persons named in the note were private persons who had not been in touch with the ministry.

"We are not satisfied with the MSZ reply," Grigoriy Yakimishin, the Russian Embassy press attache told PAP today, and added that it was difficult to accept that the demonstration that had been organized in Krakow could be considered as an humanitarian aid action.

Walesa Interviewed About Relations With Lithuania

LD1702155495 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0910 GMT 17 Feb 95

[Interview with Polish President Lech Walesa by Vytautas Radzevicius on in Warsaw 16 February—recorded; Walesa speaks in Polish with superimposed Lithuania translation]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Radzevicius] Esteemed Mr. President, you were the first herald of the rapprochement of the Polish and Lithuanian nations when you visited our country for the first time in April last year. And now Poland will be visited by Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas. I would like to ask you to reveal the topics of your meeting with the Lithuanian president.

[Walesa] Above all, in my opinion, we are going to talk about the future. As you mentioned, I would like to have our rapprochement closer and therefore I will propose a closer rapprochement. The word rapprochement has many meanings in the Polish language and I have in mind a rapprochement of diverse forms. These two nations have been so closely linked in the past and should not forget today these links and develop their relations without infringing upon the originality and statehood of our nations. There are many topics, above all, in the economic sphere. But this is not all. There are also issues of culture etc. We are going to deal with this, but as yet consultations are going on and it is being coordinated which issues should be accentuated, but there will be no new problems.

[Radzevicius] How do you evaluate present Lithuanian-Polish relations?

[Walesa] I think that in the sphere of agreements we have advanced, but their implementation is lagging behind. I think that our countries do not have as yet effective methods of realizing these agreements. But we must understand objective difficulties too, we are going over to a different system and this new system of economic activity is still being formed. Both you and we have internal problems and therefore our interaction is not sufficiently marked. We should strive for a resilient

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interaction. But, may be, this will be prompted by life itself. We, as politicians and people, taking decisions and looking for new solutions, will endeavor to think and decide whether there are untapped possibilities and seek ways how to realize this technically without infringing upon legal norms and essential formalities. We will endeavor to find means with the least possible obstacles to mutual relations.

[Radzevicius] Lithuania and Poland signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation last year. Is this document being sufficiently filled in with a concrete and positive content?

[Walesa] I already mentioned that insufficiently. It is difficult to design friendship by decree. It is essential to eliminate obstacles, create conditions, but friendship must come by itself, naturally. This also applies to cooperation in new conditions. Nothing can be imposed here. Politicians can only find good legal solutions, open border crossing posts, establish places used by informal traders and convert them into legal crossings so that genuine traders, too, can faster cross the border. We should pay more attention to these matters, and everything else will be solved by life itself.

[Radzevicius] But a terrible disorder dominates at both sides of the border at the Ogrodniki post. This makes our countries an object of ridicule in the eyes of the whole Europe. Mr. President, during your visit in Lithuania you promised to take measures in this matter and, if this did not help, you intended to go there in a helicopter and introduce order on the spot. What is your opinion about this matter?

[Walesa] Of course, there are reports that provoke concern. But my philosophy is somewhat different now. I would like to abolish border in the year 2000. I would not like to build large and expensive border crossing posts, but establish posts with computers, maps, advising how fast it takes to reach places. Briefly, they should be uniting and not separating posts. Therefore I do not pay much attention to large border posts the construction of which is very expensive and which will not be needed tomorrow. Therefore I do not exert much control over these matters. But here, to, an agreement of both sides is needed. We cannot abolish the border if the other side does not agree, let us say, Lithuania or some other state.

[Radzevicius] Have the most important problems of the Polish minority in Lithuania been solved according to the criteria of Polish assessments and is Poland solving similar problems in accordance with the requirements recognized in Europe which have been so categorically raised to the Lithuanians?

[Walesa] If to speak of Poland, this has been solved because we have been an example to other people a long time ago. If to speak of Lithuania, we understand it, it has certain apprehensions, it is a smaller country which has been often dominated by strangers. Therefore I understand that complexes are still present there and time is needed to eliminate these complexes. We must strive together to get rid of these complexes as soon as possible, but we must understand the fear by a smaller country that a larger country may attempt to encroach on the freedom of a smaller country.

[Radzevicius] Poland has expressed that its wish to maintain good relations with its all neighbors, but I would like to ask Mr. President whether all neighbors are treated the same way, may be, a greater preference or greater respect is given to some of them?

[Walesa] Of course, Lithuania is closer to us in some respects than, let us say, Germany. But is some respects Germany may be closer, because, if we wish to borrow a larger sum of money, Germany is more favorable to us because Lithuania does not have this money. But if to speak of the ties of kinship and blood, cooperation with Lithuania is more acceptable to us. Because we are almost identical nations and sometimes it is difficult to recognize a difference between them. Therefore we, living at a time of great transformations, sometimes behave like that elephant in a china shop. Unfortunately this happens, but not because of ill-will but because of [word indistinct] wish which cannot be realized yet. And sometimes we are simply imprudent.

[Radzevicius] The official visits of Lithuanian President Algirda Brazauskas and of Russian Prime Minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin start on the same day. Polish mass media have been for the last few weeks commenting by various means on the coming visit of the Russian prime minister, but do not mention the historical visit by the Lithuanian president at all. What do you think about the coincidence of both important visits and what is your attitude to the behavior of Polish mass media?

[Walesa] I regret that this happened. The visit by the Lithuanian president was planned a long time ago, whereas the visit by Prime Minister Chernomyrdin has been decided very suddenly. He has been delaying his visit for a long time and he [words indistinct] time and place. Of course, this is carelessness by the Foreign Affairs Ministry too, and, may be, some chaos has been created because this ministry is without its minister. It is bad, and everything should be done that this fact does not spoil our feelings because this happened not because of somebody's ill-will but because Chernomyrdin has been delaying his visit. And his visit is very important to us because many issues which must be solved have accumulated. He selected a date, suitable to him, and, may be, did not know that the visits would coincide. It s difficult to tell. But Poland is a sufficiently large country to accommodate several such important persons.

[Radzevicius] Poland and Lithuania are advancing in the same direction. They wish to join NATO and the European Community as soon as possible. Can Lithuania expect Poland's support in these strivings?

[Walesa] Not only support, we will do our utmost to draw it to these European institutions. Lithuania is necessary to all of us. Poland, as a fraternal country, does everything to help it.

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[Radzevicius] Lithuania is pleased that Poland is prepared to be a bridge to the West for Lithuania but does the Polish president think that Lithuania too, could be useful to Poland's Eastern policy because it has great experience in relations with Eastern neighbors?

[Walesa] Of course, we realize that it is nearer to us to reach some places in Russia through Lithuania. It is true, we do not yet know how such countries as Lithuania will be treated. We are sometimes treated in a way when these larger ones take decisions without consulting us. Having all this in mind, we must help each other. Therefore we must make use of our bilateral contacts striving for an improvement in our cooperation.

[Radzevicius] Lithuania marks its great festival—the day of the proclamation of independence—on 6 February. What would be your wish to Lithuania and to all people residing in that country?

[Walesa] I wish that the Lithuanians. who have suffered during their complex history, do not need to struggle so much and only guard their independence. I hope that there will be no need for us to shed our blood for what we have achieved without a comparatively great bloodshed. I believe that our countries and nations will be free together and that we will mutually guard our freedom.

Lithuanian President Addresses Sejm Deputies

LD1702180595 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1503 GMT 17 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 17 Feb—Addressing Sejm deputies on Friday, President of Lithuania Algirdas Brazauskas recalled a "special role played by the Sejm of the Polish Republic and its deputies who visited Lithuania in the tragic days of January 1991" when Lithuania had been threatened by the Russian intervention.

President Lech Walesa, who invited Brazauskas to Poland, was present during the speech by the Lithuanian guest. Also present were members of the diplomatic corps in Warsaw.

Brazauskas assessed the development of Polish-Lithuanian relations "with optimism." He said that the bilateral treaty, concluded in April of last year was "helping the Lithuanians and the Poles in overcoming mutual mistrust." He added that both sides had been linked at present by 40 interministerial agreements. "As regards a number of joint Polish-Lithuanian enterprises, Poland occupies third place in Lithuania," he said.

"Now, a few more words about the Polish-Lithuanian border. In my view this is a misunderstanding, which should be removed as soon as possible. The look of this border sometimes reminds me of the notorious Berlin Wall that divided Europe. This should be replaced by border signs and necessary controls," Brazauskas said. These words were met with applause by deputies and guests. Brazauskas added that "it would be important and symbolic if Lithuania and Poland were the first of the CEFTA [Central European Free Trade Agreement] and Baltic states to sign an agreement on free trade."

Recalling that for centuries both countries were together defending themselves against threats from outside, Brazauskas said that this is why "we well understand Poland's decision to join the European Union and NATO. We strongly believe that together we will find our place in the common European house, as Poland probably would not feel well and secure when Lithuania was forbidden to enter this house."

Speaking about Lithuania's relations with its neighbors, Brazauskas said that only recently solutions had been found to "political and economic problems, which cast a shadow on our relations with Russia." At the same time, the president of Lithuania expressed concern about the situation in Chechnya, stressing that Lithuania is for solving the conflict by peaceful means.

The president of Lithuania ended his speech in Polish, quoting the words of [Pope] John Paul II spoken during his visit to Lithuania: "Europe is not deeply divided between two conflicting ideologies anymore; it enters a path of cooperation between nations; it is going to be a long process, requiring great patience and the participation of all citizens of the countries concerned, between whom the bonds of fraternity and solidarity have to be created in order to overcome the animosity of previous periods."

Stresses Relations

LD1802113495 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1022 GMT 18 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 18 Feb—Lithuania's foreign policy priority in the central European region is to develop relations with the neighboring Poland, Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas, who is on an official visit to Poland, declared today. Brazauskas gave a lecture on Lithuania's policy and the situation in the region at the Eastern Studies Center in Warsaw.

"For 100 years there hasn't been a more friendly government toward Poland government," said. According to him, despite various past events and sentiments in relations between both countries, the atmosphere for cooperation hasn't been as good as it is now.

Brazauskas devoted a large part of his lecture to relations between Lithuania and Russia. "When in December 1989 I told Gorbachev that we wanted to leave the Soviet Union, he couldn't understand that: you were part of the empire for 200 years, what would you do now that you are on your own? he asked. This was his and other Soviet leaders logic," Brazauskas said.

According to Brazauskas, present relations between Lithuania and Russia are more normal ("they even apologize to us when their planes violate our air space; before they wouldn't pay any attention to that"). This however is not going to weaken Lithuania's strive to

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integration with European Communities, including NATO ("this doesn't mean Russia's isolation and locking it in a bear's cage").

Brazauskas also regards close cooperation between his country and the Vysegrad Group as necessary.

Walesa Ready To Compromise Over Ministers

LD1702175695 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1500 GMT 17 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Lech Walesa has declared that he is prepared to compromise on the matter of appointing ministers of defense, foreign, and internal affairs. The president added that he will make a decision accepting or rejecting Lech Falandysz's resignation after his return from Latin America.

[Correspondent] President Lech Walesa told journalists in the Sejm that he is ready to compromise on the matter of appointing ministers in the presidential ministries, but he did not clarify what this compromise will be about. He also added that there should be more time for the formation of the government. I am disappointed, the president said, that it takes so long. When asked about Lech Falandysz's resignation, the president repeated that he will make a decision about this after his return from Latin America.

Changes 'Necessary Evil'

LD1902093795 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0700 GMT 19 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] During the night President Lech Walesa left Warsaw for an official visit to four states of South America. He is to visit Brazil, Argentine, Uruguay, and Chile and meet with Paraguay's vice president on the border between Brazil and Paraguay.

The president told journalists before his departure that if the coalition and Jozef Oleksy's new government fail to solve problems he will have to do so himself. Lech Walesa confirmed that he considers changes in the present government a necessary evil, although he feels closer to Waldemar Pawlak and the Polish Peasant Party than to Jozef Oleksy and the Democratic Left Alliance. The president confirmed that Zbigniew Okonski is still his candidate for defense minister. Lech Walesa also believes that Andrzej Olechowski should remain as foreign minister.

President Walesa evaded a question about whether he will dismiss Mieczyslaw Wachowski, his office head. After the resignation of Lech Falandysz, deputy head of the presidential chancellery, a group of president's former associates demanded Wachowski's resignation.

Ready to Intervene

LD1902132695 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0102 GMT 19 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Warsaw, 19 Feb—Lech Walesa told journalists last night that if "this coalition, this government, and Speaker Oleksy cannot do anything," the president will have "to take a manly decision and once again rise to the occasion in order to solve problems."

Before his departure for South America, journalists asked the president if any agreement concerning heads of the interior, foreign, and defense ministries was reached during the Saturday meeting with Speaker Jozef Oleksy.

"We said quite a lot, but practically we said nothing," the president said. He added that "this is a process during which we consider what to do in order to do the best we can, and this is not simple. You know that I am closer to Waldemar Pawlak and his group [Polish Peasant Party] than to Jozef Oleksy and his group [Democratic Left Alliance]. I am responsible for getting our country to move forward. There is still no commandant of police and he is very much needed. There are still unfilled vacancies in maybe half of ambassadorial posts. Still no decisions are being taken. In this connection changes are necessary, but this is painful to me. We are trying to do what is necessary, but we do not know many things, so we are trying to ensure that decisions will be taken by a future government. Hence the difficulties, and that is why we are saying quite a lot, but not everything.

Is an agreement possible to the extent that we could have new government in the beginning of March?

"Things cannot go on like this. The state has to be governed and guided, and if this game continues I will have to take manly decisions again. I am prepared to do that, because I want to serve the nation well and this nation has to be guided and governed. If this coalition, this government, and Speaker Oleksy are unable to do anything, I will rise to the occasion again in order to resolve these problems." [passage omitted]

Oleksy Comments on Chances of Forming Government

LD2002120195 Warsaw Radio Zet Network in Polish 0710 GMT 20 Feb 95

[Studio interview with Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy by Andrzej Woyciechowski on 20 February—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Woyciechowski] How are things? How is the attempt to form a government?

[Oleksy] It is continuing. I would say that it is proceeding with difficulty, because this has been rather an unexpected development. [passage omitted]

[Woyciechowski] How are the talks with the president going? I understand that now you have a week to prepare for the next meeting. Were there two or three meetings so far?

[Oleksy] Four. They were very pleasant conversations. We spoke about many issues, not only matter concerned with this particular issue. We exchange views on various matters in the state, on who contributed to the present

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turmoil, and to what extent, and so on. The president adopts a very dynamic approach toward the situation and these matters. But there are still unsolved matters such as the budget. This is a delicate issue because we are a country in the middle of Europe with 40 million inhabitants. But I have to say that there has been growing understanding by the president of the importance of this issue for the economy and the situation in the state. [passage omitted]

[Woyciechowski] Do you have a good candidate for press spokesman?

[Oleksy] He will be a government spokesman not the prime minister's spokesman. Information policy has to be reviewed. [passage omitted]

[Woyciechowski] Two names have been mentioned, Baczynski [editor of POLITYKA weekly] and Szymczycha [editor of TRYBUNA daily]. Is it going to be one of them?

[Oleksy] I would like it to be. I am afraid, though, that Baczynski is not keen to agree and Szymczycha is still considering the offer.

[Woyciechowski] What did you talk about with Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin?

[Oleksy] We had a very long conversation, lasting one and a half hours. So, there was enough time to talk about every important issue.

[Woyciechowski] About NATO as well?

[Oleksy] Mostly about NATO. There has been a lack of understanding as regards Poland's position and it still exists. The [Russian] approach is full of mistrust toward the West in general. Chernomyrdin did not try to hide that there exists mistrust in Russia toward the West and that they have the impression that Russia is being surrounded.

[Woyciechowski] Do you expect such a resolute opposition to last?

[Oleksy] Resolute opposition probably not, because Russia is probably going to carry out its own consultations and to have a special Partnership for Peace program with NATO, so Poland is not an intermediary in shaping Russia-NATO relations. However, this depends on NATO's attitude, on whether it is going to treat Russia's opposition as a factor affecting decisions or simply as one of many opinions. I even made a joke—the joke was not understood—by saying that in 1954 Moscow expressed its readiness to join NATO and Poland raised no objections then, so why is Russia now opposing Polish entry into NATO?

But this was not the only issue. We also talked about the economy and about the importance of contacts between nations, culture, mutual knowledge about partners, and this is more than raw materials and financial settlements.

[Woyciechowski] How do you understand President Walesa's final sentence at the airport, when he said that if the hide and seek games do not stop he will have to make a bold decision again?

[Oleksy] I do not know how the president understands games and hide and seek, and I do not know what he has in mind when he says that he might have to intervene again. We know that the president intervenes with loud words and with extreme assessments and demands for actions by others. We have heard it more than once, and I think the Polish situation is much too complex for this remedy to be sufficient. I expect cooperation from the president and not only criticism. I want to say strongly that the whole situation is a test of intentions. It will show who supports putting things in order, is searching for stability, and for further economic, structural, and self-government development, and who is only playing games and treating the whole situation as a game.

[Woyciechowski] Is a dissolution of parliament still possible?

[Oleksy] No. There are no reasons for this. A dissolution of the Sejm by the president is quite impossible. But if there is an impasse then a self-dissolution could be considered. But for the moment it can be ruled out. The coalition has come out united and resolute.

[Woyciechowski] What are your chances today of forming a government—50 percent?

[Oleksy] I think it is 60 to 40 for forming a government.

[Woyciechowski] Thank you.

Defense Official Optimistic About NATO

LD1902212695 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 2000 GMT 19 Feb 95

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The U.S. administration has decided to allow Poland access to all military technologies, including even the most advanced ones. This means that all barriers preventing access to them have been removed and that Washington is treating Poland as their NATO ally, Acting Defense Minister Jerzy Milewski told the Panorama program after his return from Washington. Meanwhile, signals have been reaching us from the NATO headquarters that there are also plans to open up NATO to the Mediterranean countries.

[Reporter Wieslaw Stefaniak] After talks at the Pentagon with U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry, Minister Milewski said that Poland will be able to join NATO before the end of the nineties. We asked the reasons for the minister's optimism.

[Begin Milewski recording] At the moment my optimism is reflected by a statement that the Americans most probably want to strive for this objective and that they

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know well that it is our strategic aim to achieve membership of the alliance in the nineties, that is, before the end of the century. However, they cannot admit it, using as an excuse the fact that 16 countries—NATO has that many members—have to make a joint decision, and not the United States alone. [end recording]

[Stefaniak] Our delegation presented to the Americans a list of priorities in the area of technology. It contains, among other things, F-16 fighter planes. Deputy Minister Jan Kuriata, who is still in the United States, is holding talks about these fighter planes. Unfortunately, Poland will not be able to afford the purchase of new aircraft and will have to satisfy itself with second-hand equipment. [passage omitted]

[Begin Milewski recording] We are not participating in any competition. Our aim to achieve NATO membership is a strategic one and cannot be subject to any conditions. Irrespective of what happens around Poland, in Poland, or in the West, we will strive to achieve this objective. And we have nothing against other Central European countries joining this alliance, particularly the Visegrad Group countries. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Poll: Kuron, Zielinski 'Surge,' Walesa Drops

WS2002151795 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18-19 Feb 95 p 2

[Report by "M.D.Z.": "CBOS Presidential List: Walesa Falls to Fourth Place"]

[FBIS Translated Text]*If the presidential elections were held on 12 February, nearly 70 percent of Poles would vote. The largest group clearly sympathizes with the left. As much as 16 percent of the electorate would cast their votes for Aleksander Kwasniewski, 14 percent—for Jacek Kuron, 13 percent—Tadeusz Zielinski, claims a poll conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center [CBOS] on 3-6 February 1995.*

CBOS carried out the poll on 3-6 February, during the peak of the political wrangling, when Lech Walesa threatened to dissolve parliament, and the Democratic Left Alliance demanded that Prime Minister Pawlak resign. In comparison with a poll conducted in January, support for Kwasniewski grew by 2 percent, yet the largest surge in popularity was noted by Kuron and Zielinski, who each gained 4 percent in new support. Lech Walesa lost three percentage points and fell from second to fourth place, with the support of 9 percent of those people poled.

Waldemar Pawlak maintained his position (the lowest since September 1994), whereas support for Jozef Oleksy as a presidential candidate grew slightly, giving the politicians 6 percent support each. Hanna Suchocka and the right wing's potential candidate Jan Olszewski gathered the support of 2 percent each, and Adam Strzembosz—3 percent.

CBOS also asked how many voters would be willing to vote for a candidate put forth by a united, extraparliamentarian right. It turned out that 11 percent would vote for such a candidate. The rightist constituency, however, lends the greatest support to neither Strzembosz nor Olszewski, but to Jacek Kuron. CBOS analysts claim this shows that a candidate representing the right as a whole could take many votes away from Kuron.

The CBOS poll was conducted on 3-6 February 1995 with a random sample of 1,223 adult Poles.

Bank Interest Rates Scheduled To Rise 21 Feb

LD2002200895 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 20 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer Dorota Warakomska] The Polish National Bank [NBP] has decided to increase interest rates by two to three percent from tomorrow. This is to make saving in zloties more attractive and simultaneously to limit inflation. With certainty, this move will also cause an increase in interest rates on credits, but in the view of NBP Chairman Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz this ought not to rebound negatively upon the economy. Last year, interest rates were decreased on two occasions.

[Correspondent] From tomorrow, the interest rate on refinancing credits will be 35 percent instead of 33 percent as hitherto, the Lombard credit rate will be 34 instead of 31 percent, and the rediscount rate will be 31 in place of 28 percent. The interest rates determined by the NBP are the price that the banks pay when they borrow from the NBP. That is also why the level of interest at all the banks is dependent upon these interest rates. The cause of the increase is a rather too high rate of inflation. Almost four percent in January, it was almost one percent over the first 10 days of February.

[Begin Gronkiewicz-Waltz recording] We wish to increase the propensity to save. In 1994, there was an above-planned increase in remuneration levels. We are not against the increase of remuneration, but we must also stimulate internal demand. We would thus wish that this remuneration go into savings, and thus the interest rate on savings has been made more attractive, rather than that it goes onto the market at above planned rates, increasing demand and thereby generating further inflation. [end recording]

[Correspondent] The NBP anticipates that the banks will increase interest on deposits somewhat, or else will at least not decrease it as hitherto. It will be necesary to wait a few days for the reactions of the banks. The interest rate on credits will certainly also increase. Today, the price of credits is of course different in different banks, but on average it comes to 35-36 percent. In the opinion of some experts, the increase in the cost of credits may harm investments.

[Begin Gronkiewicz-Waltz recording] We hope that this will not impact upon economic growth on account of the

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fact that it is low inflation that is most advantageous for growth, and unfortunately the inflation threat is a fairly large one. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz gave assurances that as soon as inflation just decreases to the planned indicator rates, interest rates will be lowered.

Kolodko Criticizes Increase

LD2102121595 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0853 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 21 Feb—"I would prefer the Polish National Bank [NBP] to support the government's anti- inflationary actions rather than winding up the temperature of inflationary expectations and thus encouraging inflation," Grzegorz Kolodko, deputy prime minister and finance minister, told journalists in Warsaw today, referring to the NBP's decision to increase interest rates.

Kolodko added that the NBP's decision to increase the interest rates on credits makes life and the functioning of stock exchange investors much more difficult.

The stock exchange is becoming less competitive. This decision makes investment possibilities more difficult, and will produce inflationary rather than anti-inflationary pressure. It does not influence savings. Our incomes policy influences savings. When incomes grow, people have more scope for savings," Kolodko said.

The problem for the NBP chief is that old age pensions will increase by 13 percent in March, and that is why interest rates are being increased. As far as professionalism is concerned, it is difficult to understand the premises with which the NBP is being guided by when taking such a decision. If we begin to play politics, it may turn out to be very dangerous, Kolodko said.

Oleksy Criticizes Increase

LD2102142695 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1248 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 21 Feb—Commenting on the Polish National Bank's [NBP] decision to raise interest rates, Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy, candidate for prime minister, said: "It is certainly not good when the government is not consulted with, or even informed in advance, of such an important economic and financial mechanism as an increase in interest rates that is unprecedented in recent years." He added that he expects an analysis of this matter.

"I think we should have waited for the February indicators, and not based the decision on the admittedly somewhat alarming January indicators at the end of February. This autonomy, although sanctioned by law, sends a very bad signal. Autonomy from the government in such important decisions is harmful," Oleksy added.

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Tinca, Greece's Arsenis Sign Defense Agreement

NC1702170295 Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 17 Feb 95 p 6

[By special correspondent in Romania Stavros Liyeros]

[FBIS Translated Text] The agreement that Greek National Defense Minister Yerasimos Arsenis signed in Bucharest yesterday with his Romanian counterpart Gheorghe Tinca constitutes the basis and framework for forging close defense links. A significant aspect is the holding of joint maneuvers, while a basic issue is also the promotion of joint programs in the war industry sector.

Arsenis' "military diplomacy" in the Balkans has the advantage of strengthening Greek props without any side effects, because it falls within the framework of the "partnership for peace." In May maneuvers will be held in Peloponnisos with the participation of U.S., Bulgarian, and Romanian units. The maneuvers will be watched by observers from other NATO countries, and German units could participate.

The Greek national defense minister's visit provided an opportunity for further improving bilateral relations as well as for reviewing regional problems. In addition to the talks with his Romanian counterpart, Arsenis also met Foreign Minister Teodor Malescanu, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, President Ion Iliescu, and Romanian Patriarch Theoktistos.

The Romanian leaders appeared positive about strengthening relations, given that no major problems exist between the two countries. But Bucharest wants to maintain a balance in its relations with its neighbors and to avoid anything that could be interpreted as establishing an axis. Romanian officials have repeated that Romania looks forward to Greek support in strengthening its links with the West and ultimately joining Western organizations such as NATO, the EU, and the West European Union.

The defense cooperation agreement signed in Bucharest yesterday provides for an exchange of visits, contacts between defense elements, exchanges between military school professors and cadets, visits by navy ships, the exchange of information, and joint maneuvers.

The agreement further provides for forming a mixed experts committee that would convene at least once a year. Some 39 defense cooperation actions have been planned for 1995, and one of them is the training of a Romanian commando platoon in Greece.

Romanian National Defense Minister Tinca said his country is seriously considering participating in the [UN] peacekeeping force in Cyprus—if, of course, the Security Council makes such a decision and the interested parties raise no objections.

Iliescu Criticizes Emphasis on Nationalism

AU1702201695 Bucharest DIMINEATA Supplement in Romanian 14 Feb p 4

["Interview With Romanian President Ion Iliescu to Romanian Television" by Calin Mitici in Bucharest on 6 February 1995]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Mitici] Mr. President, what contribution do you think the signing in Strasbourg of the framework-convention for the protection of minorities will make to the new negotiations on the Basic Romanian-Hungarian treaty?

[Iliescu] Like other European documents, such as the Copenhagen document a few years ago, this framework-convention is an expression that the general principles accepted by all European states as the basic principles for tackling—in a democratic framework, within democratic structures, and national democratic legislations—the problems of the relations of each individual state with its citizens who belong to various minority groups, are being addressed at the European level. From this viewpoint, as I have often said, the provisions of Romania's Constitution, and of Romanian legislation and our political practice, exceed the provisions of European regulations on these matters, including those of the recent framework-convention.

Therefore I believe that in this context the talks with Hungary on minority issues will be facilitated, because we shall approach the bilateral treaty provisions regarding the way each state handles minority issues in the context of this framework-convention. And we have no problem at all in this respect. Hence, from now on, we will refer to this context in order to approach these issues in a democratic and European spirit.

[Mitici] Mr. President, according to the Constitution, one of your duties is to be the guarantor of the Constitution, the country's supreme law. From this position, how do you view the dispute regarding the claims of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] claims.

[Iliescu] I believe that the reaction of the public and political forces to certain exaggerated demands, and mainly certain actions—including the decision regarding the establishment of a "self-administration council," as it was called, of mayors and representatives of councils in certain counties—is a natural reaction, because these UDMR leadership actions are at variance with the provisions of the Constitution and the provisions of the law. It is regrettable that both certain UDMR leaders and the UDMR's representatives in the Council of Europe are circulating ideas that create confusion and raise the issue of local autonomy, as if in Romania local autonomy were not assured and the UDMR representatives were the ones who fought for local autonomy in Romania—which is not true. The principle of local autonomy is a constitutional principle and we have a law covering this.

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The local elections for mayor were carried out in the spirit of this law. The principles of local autonomy are implemented in the same spirit, but it is local autonomy that regards localities, with all their citizens. The UDMR has come up with a so-called discriminatory autonomy, which leads to separatism and to segregation, and this is at variance with all principles of democracy and all European principles, including those contained in the framework-convention.

There was only one country in the world where such theories and concepts of segregation and bantustanization were applied: South Africa. In Europe such a thing is unacceptable. Thus, such ideas—and mainly actions—are completely unacceptable and inadmissible and violate the spirit of understanding and coexistence that have guided relations among citizens and still guide relations among our citizens. As far as I have been informed, even simple people, citizens from various Transylvanian localities , Romanians and even Hungarians, are simply bewildered by the perseverance with which certain extremist leaders at the helm of the UDMR are acting. I hope that people interested in promoting coexistence will distance themselves from the extremist elements who create tension and fuel extremist reactions on the other side.

[Romanian National Unity Party, PUNR, president] Mr. Funar's outbursts are also unacceptable because, in the name of the PUNR, he made certain quite unacceptable statements offending the Hungarian population—the Hungarians in Romania and the Hungarians in Hungary—and launched calls for measures that provoke tension and the approval of which would lead to ethnic conflict. Such outbursts are completely uncalled for, are unbalanced, and can in no way be accepted. They even prove that the person who launched them is psychologically unbalanced.

[Mitici] As arbiter of political life, because you are above all political parties, can you see any solution to this conflict, ways to alleviate this conflict between the PUNR and UDMR?

[Iliescu] Certainly, there should be a reasonable and sensible approach to these problems and the two groups should be able to hold a dialogue. That is an element of democracy, and to hold a sensible dialogue between groups that represent various segments of the population is a democratic practice. Unfortunately, precisely, the presence of exaggerated extremist positions obstructs this dialogue—whereas holding such a dialogue is the normal thing to do.

[Mitici] After Mr. Funar's recent reaction, there was a breach between the major government party,—the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania]—and the PUNR because of the statements by the leaders of the two parties. How do you see relations between the two ruling parties continuing?

[Iliescu] I hope that, first of all, the PUNR leadership will judge with a sense of duty and responsibility the consequences of such positions, which have an antinational character. In spite of the nationalistic language, which seeks to plead for the defense of national interests, Mr. Funar has caused more damage to the country because his language is used as arguments and Mr. Frunda did nothing other than to reproduce Mr. Funar's statements and disseminate them among parliamentarians in Strasbourg. Now, our delegation must strive to explain things and distance itself from such statements, because before the Council of Europe, Romania and Romania's Government and even Romanian parliamentarians are regarded as people who encourage extremist and xenophobic excesses, which are completely against the democratic principles. He has caused only difficulty. He has damaged our national interests through these statements of his. Thus, his position is virtually antinational.

Romany Groups Wish To Unite as 'Political Force'

AU1802160295 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 15 Feb 95 p 1

[Article signed "A.S.": "The Romanies Want To Set Up a Single Party, In Keeping With the Model of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to statements by Mr. Bidia, president of the Community of Ethnic Romanies in Romania, the majority of groups that represent the ethnic Romanies in Romania have begun discussions regarding the unification of these groups into a political force that would allow for obtaining more deputies (and maybe even senators) seats in the next parliamentary elections. Referring to Deputy Gheorghe Raducanu and the Romanies' Party group, the leader of the Community of Ethnic Romanies in Romania expressed satisfaction with the idea of their association to the new political alliance and noted that, in this case, most of the current disagreements between the deputy of the Romanies and the rest of the respective minority's movements "would disappear for good."

Bill on Guard, Protection Service Presented

AU1802190095 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 15 Feb 95 p 10

[Report by Lia Bejan: "The Guard and Protection Service Under Parliament's Control"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The chairmen of the defense, pubic order, and national security commissions in the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies have initiated a draft bill on the organization and functioning of the Guard and Protection Service [SPP]. The draft bill was submitted yesterday to the Standing Bureau of the Chamber of Deputies. The preamble states that the SPP was conceived as a state body in charge of ensuring the protection of Romanian dignitaries and foreign dignitaries during their stay in our country and guarding the

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headquarters and residences of dignitaries. The project stipulates that the SPP should carry out its activity under the control of the Romanian parliament and the coordination of the country's Supreme Defense Council. The text of the draft bill also stresses that the members of this institution will perform a certain amount of intelligence work as well.

Hungarian Deputies' Decision on Treaty Viewed

AU1702124195 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2030 GMT 16 Feb 95

[Interview with Romanian Foreign Ministry Spokesman Mircea Geoana by Doina Seiciuc in Bucharest on 16 February—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Seiciuc] We have asked Foreign Ministry spokesman Mircea Geoana to share with us his views on the news that all the parties' representatives on the Hungarian parliament's Foreign Policy Subcommittee have agreed not to conclude any basic political treaties with Romania and Slovakia unless documents regarding the rights of national minorities are accepted by the Hungarians' representatives in the respective countries.

[Geoana] I would like to mention that after examining the declarations by the members of parliament in Budapest issued after the Hungarian parliament's Foreign Policy Committee and the Hungarian Foreign Ministry discussed the situation and the prospects for negotiating and finalizing Hungary's bilateral political treaties with Romania and Slovakia, we noticed that the declaration in question was made by Gyorgy Csoti, vice president of the Foreign Policy Committee, a Hungarian Democratic Forum member of parliament. He refers to the need for Hungary's bilateral treaties with Slovakia and Romania to be signed only if the governments of the countries in question recognize the legitimate representatives of the political organizations of the Hungarian minorities in the countries concerned.

I would like to say that the president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Hungarian parliament, a member of the Alliance of Free Democrats, issued a statement on the same issue, but in a more concise and moderate manner.

Speaking in general terms, I would like to mention that, as a matter of fact, it is accepted international practice for treaties between countries to be negotiated between the governments of the countries, through their foreign ministries. This is also the case with the negotiations between Romania and Hungary regarding the basic political treaty. The government of each country is authorized and able to defend, and take the necessary measures to have respected, its citizens' rights regardless of the ethnic group to which they belong or other criteria.

Similarly, as I have recently affirmed, the Romanian Foreign Ministry is in an advanced phase of negotiations and finalization of the basic political treaty with Hungary. We hope that during the next rounds of negotiations with the Hungarian experts of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Budapest, we will find convenient formulas for both the issue of borders and the issue of minorities, the rights and obligations of those who belong to national minorities in the two countries.

At the same time, we also hope that the finalization—that is, the signing of this important bilateral legal document—can take place as soon as possible, preferably even before the final conference for the evaluation of the stability pact in Europe.

Funar Says Civil War in Transylvania 'Possible'

AU1802184795 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 18-19 Feb 95 p 3

[Interview with Gheorge Funar, mayor of Cluj and head of the "right-wing extremist" National Unity Party, by Alexandru Todericiu in Cluj; date not given: "Hungary Wants a Second Yugoslavia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Todericiu] What do you think is the nature of the ethnic conflict in Transylvania?

[Funar] There is no ethnic conflict in Romania. The issue that has been played up by the media over the past five years does not exist. This can be seen in the constitutional rights and freedoms that all Romanian minorities, including the Hungarians, enjoy. There is no other country in the world that grants minorities so many rights and freedoms. Actually, the point is territorial claims by the Budapest government, implicitly by the UDMR (Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania), to get part of our country—namely, Transylvania.

[Todericiu] How large is the Hungarian minority?

[Funar] More than 500,000 of the 1.7 million who were registered as Romanian citizens of Hungarian origin are gypsies. The UDMR blackmailed or simply "bought" them so they would claim to be Hungarian. Others are Magyarized Romanians or Szeklers (ethnic tribe similar to the Hungarians). In the end, no more than 300,000 Romanians of Hungarian origin are left in Romania.

[Todericiu] Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter has in some respects compared the situation in Transylvania to Bosnia. Is this correct?

[Funar] The situation in the unified Romanian nation state is completely different. I am convinced that the former U.S. president is not sufficiently informed about that. The government in Budapest, the UDMR, and the Hungarian irredentists from the United States, however, are trying to create a situation in our country that is similar to the situation at the beginning of the war in the former Yugoslavia.

[Todericiu] The justice minister, who is a member of your party, has demanded harsh measures against ethnic Hungarian citizens. Why?

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[Funar] The justice minister claims that there are reasons to initiate legal procedures to prove that the UDMR is unconstitutional. I myself have only called for the observance of the laws. According to them, all citizens of the country who are employed in the Army, the Interior Ministry, the Romanian Intelligence Service (SRI), and the judiciary are prohibited from engaging in any kind of political activities. The UDMR always claims that it represents all Romanian citizens of Hungarian origin and, thus, also those in the above-mentioned ministries. As a result, these citizens would be violating the law.

[Todericiu] What do you think of the media speculations that there may be ethnic clashes in Transylvania at the beginning of March?

[Funar] Many ethnic Hungarian citizens in Romania are armed, organized in paramilitary units, and waiting for a signal to begin a civil war in Transylvania. The arming began at the end of December 1989, when large amounts of weapons were smuggled into Romania.

[Todericiu] Do you really believe that this will happen?

[Funar] I think it is possible. Not that I want a conflict, but the irresponsible leaders of the UDMR are quite capable of giving such a signal. This comes from Budapest anyway, since the UDMR leaders are only pawns.

[Todericiu] Will a war break out between the two countries?

[Funar] We ourselves are able to end such a conflict within 24 hours, without blue helmets.

UDMR's Autonomy Policy 'Firmly Condemned'

AU1702201595 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 15 Feb 95 P 3

[Report by Dorina Baesu and Ana Maria Vintan: "Chamber of Deputies—Idea of Autonomy on Ethnic Criteria Firmly Condemned"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The motion against the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] initiated by Petre Turlea and signed by 53 deputies of the majority coalition, was discussed in the Chamber of Deputies on Monday evening [13 February]. The discussions were less tense than expected, owing to what a possible scandal would do to Romania's image.

Opening the debate, the UDMR suggested that the motion should be removed from the agenda because it condemned the view of a party—which, in the opinion of the UDMR, violated the Constitution. This view was not shared by the other parties. Only the Civic-Liberal Group stated that, in order not to turn Parliament into a trial condemning certain opinions, the motion should be replaced by a decision. This would ease the situation by calling an extraordinary meeting of Parliament in Targu Mures on 20 March. At this meeting the day would be declared Day of Tolerance, and "the Framework-Convention on National Minorities" and "the European Charter, an Autonomous Exercise of Local Power" would be ratified. Put to a vote, this proposal was rejected and those present proceeded to the discussion of the motion.

All the parties spoke out against the idea of autonomy on ethnic criteria, as favored by the UDMR. However, each party found a different language in which to express this view. The PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania], through its deputy Ilie Nica, the deputy parliamentary group leader, wished to satisfy both Europe and the nation's patriotic feelings. He delivered a moderate speech—but since this is not what he usually does, nobody understood him. Everybody laughed.... Then Costica Ciurtin of the PUNR [National Romanian Unity Party] vehemently condemned the "current UDMR, which has nostalgia for medieval legends." He called the Hungarians "chauvinistic and heretics" and reminded them that the Romanian nation has been here for thousands of years. Mr. Ciurtin asked the government to stop showing its disapproval.

Ion Ratiu [National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party, PNTCD], Adrian Severin [Democratic Party, PD], and Horia Rusu [Liberal Party '93] said that they agreed with neither the claims of the UDMR nor how those in power are approaching this issue. They asked that a distinction be made between the issue of local autonomy, which is absolutely necessary for all the country's regions, and the idea of ethnic autonomy—that is: positive discrimination.

All the representatives of the opposition also said that, if they are discussing condemning something, than in no way should it be a party—that is: a group. People, not groups, may be accused and perhaps even condemned for violating the Constitution. Moreover, it is not Parliament that is authorized to take measures, but specialized institutions such as the Prosecuting Magistracy.

Late in the evening, they proceeded to the vote. The UDMR representatives threatened to would withdraw their delegates from the Atlanta meeting if the motion passed.

Dan Cristina Popovici, a Greater Romania Party deputy, proposed a roll-call vote. After it had militated for a secret vote and lost, the PNTCD left the hall. The PSDR deputies remained in the hall but abstained from voting. The PD voted against the motion, while opinions differed within the Civic-Liberal Group, which decided that each member could vote as he wished. The UDMR group withdrew, saying that "the accused cannot participate in passing sentence on himself."

The motion was passed by 165 votes to 23 votes.

UDMR on Romania's 'National Character'

AU1802200995 Bucharest COTIDIANUL in Romanian 15 Feb 95 p 2

[Report by Roxana Mihalache: "The Crime of Opinion"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] On 13 February, while the deputies were still voting on Petre Turlea's motion against the latest statements of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], the UDMR group in the Chamber of Deputies organized a news conference. Reiterating opinions already formulated during the discussion of the motion, Deputy Arpad Marton said that the UDMR is not challenging the unitary character of the Romanian state or its national integrity. On the other hand, the UDMR is still upset at the formulation: "the national character" of the state. "The national character cannot be included in any legal formula and is more a political choice," Deputy Ervin Szekely said. "Consequently, we are being sued for our political options and for certain ideals that look natural to us. It is only normal to use our mother tongue in administration and justice." Deputy Laszlo Borbely believes that "this motion creates the premises of a new kind of crime in Romania—namely the crime of opinion. I believe," he added, "that the opinions of a political party cannot be censured by a motion. If the UDMR is condemned today for supporting such a concept, the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party may be condemned tomorrow for supporting the monarchy or the Democratic Party for having ruined the country. We thus create the dangerous precedent of using the motion as an instrument of the political struggle in Parliament. This blocks the legislative activity and gives a purely political tint to the activity of the legislative forum."

UDMR Body Rejects 'Unfounded' Accusations

AU1902140295 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 18 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Our correspondent Teodor Mateescu reports that the Presidium of the National Self-Government Council of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], set up a short while ago in Sfantu Gheorghe, was convened today in Cluj-Napoca in order to work out the program of activity for the first semester of this year, including the distribution of the prerogatives of the presidium members per zones and localities.

In a press statement at the end of the meeting, the president of this body, Pal Vilmos Santa, said that this council is not a structure or a suprastructure parallel to the administrative forums set up in the wake of elections, as it only consists of councillors elected on UDMR lists in the local administration of 12 counties. The purpose of this Self-Government Council, Pal Vilmos Santa added, is to supply field information to the UDMR executive leadership and the UDMR parliamentarians. At the same time, the council reserves the right to forward proposals for the improvement of the Law on Public Administration, even in the form of legislative initiatives.

The participants in today's meeting in Cluj-Napoca, members of the Presidium of the UDMR National Self-Government Council, also decided to release a communique that rejects the accusations leveled against the council—accusations that they consider unfounded, since its existence and activity do not aim at achieving territorial readjustments or eschewing the basic provisions of the country's Constitution but only at supporting and defending the rights of the minority it represents at the level of local administration.

Unlike other meetings of this kind, today's meeting in Cluj-Napoca did not take place at the headquarters of the UDMR county organization but at a Hungarian foundation near UDMR headquarters on Pavlov Street No. 16, our correspondent reports.

PSDR Rejects UDMR's 'Unacceptable' Claims

AU1902140395 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 18 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The National Council of the Social Democratic Party of Romania [PSDR], which held a meeting today to examine the current political situation in the country, adopted a resolution in which it points to the continuous economic, social, moral, and behavioral deterioration of the people's standard of living caused by the current government, which, in the opinion of this party's leadership, is characterized by the absence of a real will for reform and by the inability to halt corruption. The resolution, which our editorial board received by fax, also deals with the current situation within the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR]. It emphasizes that, due to the CDR's functional incapacity, the PSDR's National Council decided not to sign the CDR protocol in its 17 February 1995 form.

The National Council authorizes the PSDR leadership to adopt further measures to assert the PSDR's specific (?position) in the Romanian political landscape.

Examining the situation created in the wake of the recent statements by leaders of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], the National Council rejects their ideas, which run counter to the basic concept of the Romanian state and to the constitutional provisions defining Romania as a national, sovereign, independent, unitary, and indivisible state, since they envisage an ethnic-discriminatory administrative organization for certain areas of the country. The resolution points out that the aggravating elements of the UDMR's course are: the allegations that the provisions of the Framework Convention For the Protection of Minorities recently adopted by the Council of Europe are insufficient; and terming Transylvania's natural entry into the composition of the Romanian state in 1918 annexation.

The PSDR National Council rejects all these unacceptable ideas and is alarmed at the insistence with which the UDMR is ventilating concepts that fuel interethnic tensions and lead to other extremist reactions, which are equally to be condemned. This conflict primarily hurts the interests of the Hungarian population, and also

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represents a potential danger for the country's internal stability—reads, in conclusion, the resolution of the PSDR National Council.

Spokesman Chebeleu Rejects UDMR's 'Lies'

AU2002150195 Bucharest DIMINEATA Supplement in Romanian 14 Feb 95 p 2

["Interview With Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, Spokesman for the Romanian Presidency, by Bucharest Radio Correspondent Sorina Man"; in Bucharest on 8 February]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Man] BBC Radio has reported on a lecture given in London by Mr. Bela Marko, president of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania], in which he defended the idea that nation states [statul-natiune] cannot guarantee ethnic minority rights. I would like you to comment on some of the assertions made by Mr. Marko, in which our listeners will certainly be interested.

[Chebeleu] Yes, I have seen reports on Bela Marko's London statements.

They are part of the propaganda being launched by certain UDMR leaders, intended to circulate falsehoods and even lies about Romania's history as well as the situation of the ethnic Hungarians in Romania, and spread these in Western countries' political circles and public opinion by taking advantage of their genuine interest in general in human rights and, particularly, in the protection of minorities' identities. The reiteration of falsehoods and lies, however systematic, does not turn them into truth.

Aggressive nationalism, as expressed by the assessments and assertions made by Mr. Marko, is the main destabilizing factor today, and not just in Romania but throughout Europe.

To talk about "Transylvania's annexation by Romania," as Mr. Marko did is tantamount to gravely offending the many centuries of struggle of the Romanians living in that historical province—where the Romanian nation was born—to free themselves from foreign domination.

It is also an offense against "successive Romanian governments" to talk about "a policy systematically to assimilate" the ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania, whose number Mr. Marko assesses as 2 million. Others put the figure at 2.5 and even 3 million, whereas actually there are a mere 1.7 million, though, as a mere parenthesis, Mr. Marko probably considers 300,000 people a negligible figure. The facts contradict this lie. Over recent decades, statistics show a continuous growth of the ethnic Hungarian population in Romania at a rate approximately equal to that of the same ethnic group in Hungary. This is proof not of their assimilation but rather of the tolerance of the Romanian people—as opposed to other countries, the prime example of which is Hungary itself. In that country, of the 200,000-300,000 ethnic Romanians who were living there at the end of World War I when the Hungarian national state was established, according to Hungarian statistics, there are today a mere 8,000-12,000.

Mr. Marko also misleads British public opinion by asserting that in 1959 they "dissolved" the Bolyai University in Cluj. In fact, they did not dissolve anything. Rather, the Hungarian-language Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca united, from an administrative point of view, with the Romanian-language Babes University. It is not unimportant to emphasize this "nuance," because by mentioning this "dissolution" they intend to make people believe that since 1959 there has been no Hungarian-language university teaching. Nevertheless, such education has never been "dissolved." On the contrary, it has carried on and has evolved in the same way that Romanian-language university education did over the same period.

Thus, we are dealing with a policy deliberately intended to mislead the West.

The same goes for the way in which certain UDMR leaders talk abroad about the contents of their claims for ethnic-territorial autonomy—deliberately mixing up terms, thus creating the impression that in Romania the president, the government, and other political forces oppose local autonomy. Nevertheless, the truth is that in our country the principle of local autonomy is precisely laid down in the Constitution and we have a law that confers broad powers to local administrative bodies. The recent statements by Mr. Frunda [UDMR senator] at the Council of Europe are revealing in this sense. The only problem is that Mr. Frunda, although probably unintentionally, accidentally disclosed what they really intend to achieve. Trying to justify the setting up of the UDMR Self-Rule Council—and this is the precise translation of the Hungarian name of that body, although they have translated it into Romanian as the Council of UDMR Mayors and Councillors—Mr. Frunda pointed out that the UDMR applies the general principles of democracy within its own internal system as well—that is: the separation of decision-making and executive bodies. However, the principle of separation of powers can only be defined at the level of the functioning of state structures, rather than those of political organizations, and therefore his invoking of that principle cannot have any other connotation than a claim to regard the UDMR as a state authority.

[Man] Mr. Marko made another assertion as well, which I would like you to comment on. He said that the problem of minorities cannot be solved in Romania without pressure from West Europe.

[Chebeleu] The sole possible interpretation of this assertion, if we also consider other stances expressed by certain members of the UDMR leadership, is that they are trying to make the West believe that there is an ethnic Hungarian "problem" in Romania that has to be "solved."

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This is nothing but a mimeographed copy of the interwar Hungarian revisionist claims, which in the end were "solved" by measures imposed from abroad, by Hitler and Mussolini in the 1940 Vienna dictate.

However, meanwhile our people and politicians have gained experience, and the world too has changed. Today the prevailing philosophy of the democratic states is that of human rights, which includes the rights of those belonging to ethnic minorities, rather than the "rights of ethnic minorities." This is also consecrated in contemporary international law as generally accepted throughout the world, except for a few revisionist circles and those nostalgic for past empires.

Actually, from this point of view, there is nothing to be "solved" in Romania regarding the rights of people belonging to the Hungarian minority. Romanian legislation and practice reaches the highest European standards and in certain respects even rises above those standards. All the rights of people belonging to the Hungarian minority are included in international documents, and they are effectively exercising those rights.

If there are any difficulties or problems facing the ethnic Hungarians—and there are such things—indeed, they are identical to those facing the entire population of the country and are the consequences of the transitional period, the decline of the economy, and so on.

[Man] But Mr. Marko has promised that the UDMR does not intend to question Romania's territorial integrity or change Romania's borders.

[Chebeleu] He has, indeed, but the claims included in the UDMR's documents, the declarations made by some of their leaders, as well as their systematic and persistent activities to achieve ethnic-territorial autonomy contradict these assertions.

Ethnic-territorial autonomy is actually intended to exempt a part of the territory of our country, the part where the ethnic Hungarians are the majority, from our Constitution and the laws of our state. Now this is a direct attack on the territorial integrity of the country, because it is intended to detach a part of its territory and subordinate it to other laws, namely those of the "self-rule."

[Man] In London, and also on other occasions, the UDMR president expressed his dismay about the attacks recently launched against the UDMR by various political forces, especially following the setting up of the Council of UDMR Mayors and Councillors, pointing out that this is nothing new, that the UDMR has not altered its program, and that its goals are well known because, for instance, they have presented their draft minority bill to Parliament.

[Chebeleu] What Mr. Marko says on this is just a half-truth, as he is presenting things in such a way as to mislead Western public opinion. From what he says one might believe that the "Romanian nationalists" suddenly awakened and began slandering the UDMR. Nothing could be more false!

Ever since their "Lutita Project" to achieve autonomy for the "Szekler land"; and, later on, their 25 October 1992 Declaration of Cluj-Napoca, which inaugurated the objective of "ethnic self-rule" and which was followed by the UDMR's Brasov convention; and also after they presented their draft minority bill to Parliament, the president, the government, and various political forces have emphasized the unconstitutional, undemocratic, and segregationist nature of these ideas. The UDMR, however, has obstinately ignored those political stances and recently, by setting up their Self-Rule Council, they have proceeded to force the implementation of what they had been expressing merely politically and theoretically. Therefore this is what triggered the reaction of the entire Romanian political spectrum—with a few insignificant exceptions—against this illegal attitude, which was also accompanied by a certain number of provocations, such as the 5 February event in Odorheiu Secuiesc.

The logical question is not why the Romanian political forces reacted now, but rather why their attempt to force the introduction of ethnic-territorial autonomy was initiated precisely now, rather than, let us say, in two, three, or six months' time.

The sole logical answer to this is that lately the prospects of a Romanian-Hungarian agreement on the basic treaty have begun to take shape and Romania was preparing to sign, on 1 February in Strasbourg, the first international document of a juridical nature on the rights of people belonging to ethnic minorities. Now, the signing of these documents would have left the promoters of exaggerated nationalist claims without "the object of their work," as they say. As a matter of fact, one of the UDMR leaders, Mr. Gyorgy Frunda, did not refrain from declaring in Strasbourg, following the signing of the Framework Convention on Minority Rights, that this represents a step backwards in the protection of ethnic minority rights.

Self-Government Council Actions To Be Banned

AU2002213895 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 20 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The prefect of Cluj County, the chairman of the Cluj County Council, and the mayor of Cluj-Napoca Municipality—taking note of the communique of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] National Self- Government Council, (?issued by) the Presidium of the Council of UDMR Mayors and Councillors, which met semi-clandestinely in Cluj- Napoca on Saturday, 18 February 1995—deem it necessary to make the following clarifications, which they include in the present communique, released today.

The UDMR's National Self-Government Council has stated that it does not intend to dissolve itself. On the

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contrary, it pledges to support firmly the UDMR's program and overall political conduct, as well as its own professional goals. The existence and actions of this body seriously violate the provisions of Articles 8, 16, 30, 37, 50, 51, 54, and 120 of Romania's Constitution, as well as the provisions of Law No. 69/1991 on local public administration, Law No. 70/1991 on local elections, and Law No. 51/1991 on Romania's national security. Consequently, we deem it opportune for Romania's General Magistracy to start the due procedures for ensuring the strict observation of the law.

We reiterate that the country's president, Romania's Government and Parliament, and the parliamentary political parties have clearly pronounced themselves on the unconstitutional nature of the UDMR's National Self-Government Council and have asked that appropriate measures be taken by the authorized bodies of the Romanian state.

Having embarked upon the implementation of its adopted program, the UDMR's National Self-Government Council is jeopardizing Romania's national security—through the organization of extremist and separatist actions, which endanger the country's unity and territorial integrity—and is inciting to actions that can affect law and order.

Out of the desire to know the UDMR's position and the rights of individuals belonging to the Hungarian ethnic group in Romania—rights that are allegedly violated—the Prefect's Office, the County Council, and the City Hall of Cluj-Napoca Municipality are again inviting the UDMR representatives and the UDMR county and municipal councillors to a frank dialogue. Likewise, they invite the representatives of all political groupings, their county and municipal councils, and the mass media to participate in this dialogue.

In view of the illegal nature of the UDMR's National Self-Government Council, the Prefect's Office and the local public administration authorities of Cluj County empower the mayor of Cluj-Napoca Municipality and the mayors of other municipalities, towns, and communes in the county to take steps—in keeping with their prerogatives as stipulated by Article 43 of Law No. 69/1991—to ban the actions undertaken by this unconstitutional UDMR body.

The communique is signed by County Prefect Grigore Zanc, County Council Chairman Victor Romulus Constantinescu, and Cluj Mayor Gheorghe Funar.

Article Views Foreign Debt at End of 1994

AU2002105895 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 15 Feb 95 p 4

[Report by Ada Teslaru: "At the End of 1994 Romania's Foreign Debt Amounted to $4.4 Billion"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the end of 1994 Romania's short- and long-term foreign debt amounted to $4.4. billion, the MEDIAFAX news agency reports.

According to the Statistical Bulletin of Romania's National Bank, Romania's principal creditors are the international financial organizations, whose loans total $2.715 billion. At the end of 1994, Romania's short-term debts amounted to $889.1 million, while its claims totalled $500.9 million. According to preliminary data, at the same time, the foreign reserves within Romania's banking system amounted to $3.0922 billion. The largest part of the foreign reserves, 65.66 percent, consisted of hard currency—followed by the gold reserves, 32.53 percent; and by the DST [expansion unknown] held by Romania at the IMF, 1.77 percent.

Senator: U.S. Seminar 'Major Political Error'

AU2002160695 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 20 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At today's news conference of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD], Senator Radu Vasile, PNTCD spokesman, said that although his political party has always worked for the unity of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR], the PNTCD cannot force any grouping to remain in this political alliance if it does not observe the principles of participating in elections on common lists and backing a single candidate for Romania's president. In spite of all this, the PNTCD spokesman pointed out, parties that leave the CDR will continue to be considered allies and the CDR will cooperate with them in the political struggle. Senator Radu Vasile expressed the PNTCD's full support for a broad framework of cooperation among the opposition groupings, but not in institutionalized forms.

Referring to the Atlanta seminar on ethnic relations [14-16 February], PNTCD Vice President Gabriel Tepelea considered it a major political error because, in his opinion, an internal Romanian problem has been internationalized. This problem must be solved at home through political dialogue, particularly through passing laws capable of solving the legitimate claims of the minorities, Tepelea said.

As regards the causes of interethnic disputes, Tepelea said that the disputes are caused by the lack of prospects felt not only by the Hungarian minority, but by the entire population.

Ethnic Hungarian Official Assesses Atlanta Meeting

AU1802164795 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 17 Feb p 9

[Interview with Laszlo Borbely, UDMR deputy and secretary of the Romanian parliament, by Ferenc Kepecs; place and date not given: "Demagogy Works on the Romanians"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kepecs] What was the reaction in Bucharest to the Atlanta dialogue?

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[Borbely] There was a mixed reaction. The governing party, and even Funar's Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR], spoke positively about the meeting. And all this one week after Funar asked the Romanian politicians to stay away from Atlanta. In the meantime, however, it became important for the government coalition to show that it is ready for a dialogue. Of course, its basic position was that the national minority issue is solved in Romania so, in Atlanta, the Romanian politicians have nothing else to do but inform the world about this.

[Kepecs] What about the opposition?

[Borbely] Among the opposition parties, the National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party [PNTCD] showed the strongest determination by not even sending a representative to the meeting. The party justified this saying that there is no need for mediation and for such a distant meeting because all this can be done here in Romania too, because we are talking about a Romanian domestic policy issue. Jimmy Carter, a person who has been involved in smoothing out serious conflicts, generally disturbs the Romanian parties. The Romanian parties fear that the world might draw the conclusion that there is also big tension in Romania.

[Kepecs] What new developments can be seen in Romanian domestic policy, especially as regards the situation of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ; in Romanian, UDMR]?

[Borbely] We are now living through a new period of tension, one that culminated on 13 February when both the Senate and the House of Representatives issued a statement condemning the RMDSZ' efforts and the statements of the RMDSZ chairman, particularly as regards the allegedly unconstitutional plans to create regions organized on an ethnic basis. Of course, they could not support their accusations with any RMDSZ statement. The RMDSZ issue has been on the front page of the newspapers recently, so we are talking about a coordinated and lasting campaign.

[Kepecs] What is behind this campaign?

[Borbely] Partly the approaching elections and partly the fact that this way they want to divert the people's attention from certain real internal problems.

[Kepecs] Are they successful in this? Do people in the streets of Bucharest allow this? Can these people really be convinced that the RMDSZ is a danger to Romania?

[Borbely] Unfortunately yes. The coordinated campaign coupled with the people's ignorance and the still-existing enemy image do the job. The Romanian population is led to believe that the RMDSZ' efforts are only the first step in a plan aimed at federalizing this country. Opinion polls in the country and even here in Bucharest show that people believe that the RMDSZ wants to create some sort of a separate state within a state.

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Herzegovina Canton To Be Set Up by End of Month

AU1902142695 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 95 p 4

[Interview with Mariofil Ljubic, chairman of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation Assembly, by M. Micevska; place and date not given: "Herzegovina Canton Is on Its Way"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the next session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation Constituent Assembly, which will probably be held in Sarajevo at the beginning of March, the deputies and representatives will be briefed on the agreement concerning the further functioning of the Federation that was recently reached in Munich.

According to Mariofil Ljubic, chairman of the Constituent Assembly, Federation President Kresimir Zubak will make an opening speech on the Munich agreement.

[Ljubic] The Assembly deputies will only be briefed on the agreement, they will not ratify it. As far as I know, this is not a document. Regarding what has been agreed on, this is already yielding results, especially with regard to the further setting up of cantonal authorities.

In addition to the Tuzla-Podrinje and Posavina Cantons, which have already been set up, the third Herzegovina Canton will be set up by the end of the month.

[Micevska] Have all the preparations been completed at the municipal level?

[Ljubic] The municipal assemblies of Posusje, Duvno, Livno, and Grude have elected five deputies each for the cantonal assembly. This process is also under way in Kupres, Siroki Brijeg, and Ljubusko. The organization of authority in this canton has been carried out in accordance with the 1990 election results. In this canton the Croatian population is in the majority. The people in this canton are in favor of the Federation, and the setting up of the canton will facilitate the incorporation of the above-mentioned territories in the single constitutional-legal framework of the Federation.

Opposition Wants Discussion of Presidency Report

AU2002194295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Coordinating Committee of the Croatian Peasants' Party, the Republican Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina Social Democrats, and the Muslim Bosniak Organization decided at today's meeting to request on behalf of these parties that a discussion on the report by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency be included in the agenda of the next session of the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, scheduled for 27 February.

Let us add that the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina at its last session decided that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency should prepare a report and present it at the next Assembly session.

We believe that this is a very important issue, and we are certain that it will be one of the dominant topics discussed at the next session of the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, says today's statement by the Coordinating Committee of the opposition parties.

New Conflict Between Muslims, Croats Reported

LD1902150395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1335 GMT 19 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Feb. 19 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Croats late on Saturday night neutralized a Muslim commando group near Novi Travnik in central Bosnia, the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA said on Sunday.

SRNA quoted Novi Travnik radio as saying that a number of Muslim commandos had been liquidated in the action after 'trying to break into the free territory of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna,' a state formed by the Bosnian Croats.

A fierce conflict last Thursday just outside the Croat-controlled part of Travnik was another fresh indicator of an increasingly perceptible rift between the partners in the Muslim-Croat Federation that was in March 1994 formed in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina under strong U.S. pressure. Media reported casualties on both sides in the a several-hour clash.

The incident took place when three Muslim trucks heading for Zenica were stopped at a check-point by local Croat forces who wanted to check the cargo. Bosnian Muslims and Croats have been exchanging accusations for continuing practice of ethnic cleansing in the territories under their respective control.

Dario Kordic, president of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), a party rallying Bosnian Croats, said 15,000 Croats had been expelled from the area of Tuzla in central Bosnia since the formation of the Muslim-Croat Federation.

That is 40 percent of the total number of Croats living there, according to the 1991 census, Kordic told the HINA news agency of the neighboring Croatia, whose report was carried by SRNA. Kordic said 65 percent of the land in the municipalities of Tuzla, Lukavac, Zivinice and Banovici was owned by Croats. He said he had visited areas where Croats had formed their own municipalities and saw that Muslim authorities had intensified expulsion of his fellow-nationals in the past ten months.

The Association of Croat Refugees and Expelled and Displaced Persons based in Capljina in southern Bosnia has demanded that the expulsion of Croats from Muslim-controlled parts be stopped.

The association on Saturday send a letter to Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, asking him, as 'the president of all Croats,' to stop the process of their expulsion. It warned that the Muslim authorities had expelled about 190,000 Croats since the beginning of the Bosnian civil

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war and that the trend had continued even after the signing of the Washington agreement on setting up the Muslim-Croat Federation.

The association said that more than 50,000 Croats had left the Muslim-controlled territory since then and that the situation was particularly difficult in Zenica, Tuzla and Sarajevo.

RS, RSK Establish Joint Defense Council

LD2002164295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1621 GMT 20 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—The Srpska republic [RS] and the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] established their joint defense council in Banja Luka today.

The decision was adopted at a meeting between RS and RSK delegations headed by presidents Radovan Karadzic and Milan Martic.

The defense council will be made up of the RS and RSK presidents, parliament speakers, ministers of defense, ministers of internal affairs, and army commanders of the RS and the RSK.

Karadzic, Martic on Aim

LD2002185495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1756 GMT 20 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—The Srpska republic [RS] and the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] set up a joint defense council in Banja Luka today. The decision was made at a meeting of the RS and RSK delegations headed by presidents Radovan Karadzic and Milan Martic.

The RS and RSK presidents, assembly presidents, prime ministers, defense ministers, internal affairs ministers, and the two army commanders will be members of the defense council.

President Karadzic told journalists that "the time has come when we are forced to form such a council." He then explained that this is a joint body which "will consider all aspects of our defense."

According to Karadzic, the decision to form the joint council is based on the declaration on joint defense adopted at the assembly session held in Prijedor in October 1992 and on documents adopted by the RS assembly held in Novi Grad in summer 1993.

Karadzic stressed that the RS and RSK joint defense is not aimed against anyone, but is meant only to defend and protect the territories of these two states. Concluding that international law has been violated, Karadzic said that Serbs are relying on the legitimate and natural right to self-defense.

"I hope that, if an agreement on political and territorial demarcation is reached, the war will not escalate. But, unfortunately, there is a real chance that the war will erupt," he added.

RSK President Milan Martic believes that the forming of the joint defense council represents "a normal process of ongoing cooperation between the two young Serb states west of the Drina. We are not threatening anybody with the forming of this council; on the contrary, we believe that joint defense will be contribute to peace, as this will create the necessary balance of forces," Martic said.

"If after so much bloodshed the Muslims and Croats could form a federation as directed by the United States and Germany, then it is only logical that we, as one people, can form a common body for defense against a common evil," he added.

Lieutenant Colonel General Manojilo Milovanovic, chief of staff of the main headquarters of the RS army, said that the forming of the council is "a perfectly natural thing," as the two countries border each other and the single nation has a common enemy.

Major Gen. Milan Celeketic, commander of the Serb army of Krajina, said that the armies will be carrying out orders from the commands, which, according to him, will be joint decisions in the event of a threat.

According to Karadzic, the defense council will pass decisions through consensus between delegations and the decisions will be binding on all executive bodies in both states.

Further on Karadzic Remarks

LD2002195595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1750 GMT 20 Feb 95

[Item received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 20 Feb (SRNA)—The Srpska republic [RS] and the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] formed a joint defense council in Banja Luka today, RS President Radovan Karadzic told a news conference. [passage omitted]

"We are witnessing efforts by the international community to merge Croatian and Muslim military and political capabilities. And they do not hide the fact that their aim is a joint struggle against the Serbs," Karadzic said. "These factors make it imperative for us to be on our guard and to coordinate our actions, and to have a joint, not to say a unified defense," the RS president said.

Karadzic warned that "a large number of foreign and domestic factors are interested in annihilating Serbs and the Serb states west of the Drina, although they have no right to do that. International law has been violated and we are relying on our legitimate right to defense."

The RS president holds that "there is hope that, if an agreement on the final political and territorial resolution

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to the crisis is reached, the war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina will not continue."

"There is also hope that Croatia will not attack Krajina, but the probability that it will attack is much higher," he concluded.

The RS president did not exclude the possibility that "Croatia is trying to exert political pressure, but it can happen that it will be forced to go to war for domestic political reasons because it has been creating such a state of affairs in the country, or that it will carry out an aggression against the Serb Krajina because of a crisis in its government, economy, and state organization."

"If this does not happen, let our preparations be in vain. This will please us greatly. But if they attack us, both our friends and enemies must know that we will defend ourselves in unison and jointly," President Karadzic concluded.

Karadzic Urges Serbia Not To Yield to West

LD1702224095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2045 GMT 17 Feb 95

[Received by Fax]

[FBIS Translated Text] Gradiska, 17 Feb (SRNA)—Talking about the political situation in the Srpska republic [RS], President Radovan Karadzic told a public discussion group in Gradiska this evening that all conferences and all proposed maps had the same goal: To break up the Serb territories near Brcko and thus to break up the [Serb] state [in Bosnia].

"The people, army, and deputies are aware that saying 'yes' to Contact Group will be tantamount to accepting Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state, and that there will be no turning back afterward," Karadzic stressed, and then went on to add that the Serbian nation rejected division.

"Our brethren across the Drina River should stop giving in, because the West will never leave Serbia in peace if pressures are allowed to yield results," the RS president concluded.

Momcilo Krajisnik, the speaker of the people's assembly of the RS, told the group "the current political situation is very delicate since the Serbian leadership believes it should accept the Contact Group plan, but we cannot accept it."

"Our brethren in Serbia are going through difficult times, but we must persevere because if we were to endorse the plan we will be left without important towns, communication lines, and industrial and economic facilities," Krajisnik said.

Milan Maric, the president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], attended as a guest this meeting of the RS state leadership and members of the Municipal Board of the Serb Democratic Party [SDS], and local businessmen.

In his address, Martic reiterated that the RS and the RSK "are one territory and one state whether anyone likes it or not."

"We will not let anyone draw borders between us either on Mt. Dinara or the Una River or the Sava River. We have the strength to bring this to an end and to see that one day we live in a common state of all Serbs," Martic stressed.

In the second half of this evening's meeting in Gradiska, Karadzic and Krajisnik, and Borivoje Sendic and Radoslav Brdjanin, the ministers for agriculture and urbanism in the RS government, answered questions raised by members of the SDS Municipal Board and local businessmen.

Krajisnik: Attempt To Divide 'Serbian Nation'

LD1802114195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1056GMT 18 Feb 95

[Item received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 18 Feb (SRNA)—Our opponents from the West wish to divide us and alienate us from Serbia and the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Srpska republic [RS] people's assembly, warned while speaking on last night's special program on Serb Radio and Television, in which RS and RSK Presidents Karadzic and Martic also participated.

"We must not allow our opponents to feast on a rift in the Serbian nation, as this would help the recognition of Croatia and former Bosnia-Herzegovina," Krajisnik said, commenting on the intention of international political centers to impose the mutual recognition of former Yugoslav republics within the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] borders in exchange for the abolition of sanctions against the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia].

Describing as a "great mistake" the international community's insistence that Serbia should recognize the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, President Krajisnik stressed that the international community, by doing so, would shed its responsibility for the mistake it had already made.

"I would not like this to happen for the sake of our people, because we have our own state. The RSK has existed for four and the RS for three years now. We will put the finishing touches to our state. Belgrade must be the Serbian capital. This is in the interest of all of us," the RS assembly president said.

"We have received those strongly worded letters from Belgrade, but we were not very angry with Serbia, given that there was an objective reason for it at the time—under the threat of tightening the sanctions," the RS assembly president said, recalling that "Milosevic greatly contributed to the creation of the RS, and therefore its

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leadership was not angry with the Serbian president, despite the blockade on the Drina."

Krajisnik hinted at a possibility that the RS could appeal to Yugoslavia in the near future to "unite all Serbs" and revealed his idea for the urgent creation of a joint body that would be in charge of telling the world what it is that the Serbs wish to achieve.

Karadzic Stresses Goal of Single Serb State

LD1902192995 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1818 GMT 19 Feb 95

[Item received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 19 Feb (SRNA)—Certain players in the international community are using the current stance of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to force us to accept something that would mean the end of all dreams about a Serb state, but we will never accept that, Srpska republic [RS] President Radovan Karadzic said in Banja Luka today.

Addressing journalists of Serb Radio's Banja Luka studio, the RS president explained that our republic is exposed to an ultimatum from the international community, whose objective is to preserve former Bosnia-Herzegovina as a single state.

Stressing that is it necessary to do everything to overcome regionalism, Karadzic again confirmed that "in the RS nobody exploits anyone, and in this respect the Banja Luka area has not been neglected in comparison with other parts of the state."

President Karadzic stressed that "as long as the war continues, there will be no elections because the ruling party is the most responsible one for the realization of the historic goals to which we aspire, which is a single Serb state."

"Muslims and Croats will accept peace and a resolution of the crisis when it is ordered by their sponsors, who had proposed that they carry out their illegal secession and attempt to tear up the Serb ethnic being," Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the RS people's assembly, said.

Karadzic Meets With EU Delegation

LD2002161995 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1354 GMT 20 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 20 Feb (SRNA)—Srpska republic [RS] President Radovan Karadzic met in Banja Luka today with a EU observer delegation headed by French diplomat Moris Dolo [name as received], head of the observer mission in Zagreb.

The meeting was held behind closed doors. According to Dr. Branko Djokic, a member of the RS Government's commission for the exchange of POWs, the meeting focussed on the situation in the Banja Luka region, continuation of the peace talks, and the EU's participation in these talks.

Djokic stressed that the Serb leadership and the EU representatives agreed that the EU's involvement is necessary for the peace talks to be successful.

According to Djokic, an EU commission is to tour the RS territory in March.

Karadzic Says No Elections Before War's End

LD1902151195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1424 GMT 19 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 19 February (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic [RS] and leader of the Serb Democratic Party [SDS], said that "multiparty elections in the RS have not been called and would not be called before the war is over."

Karadzic today addressed members of the SDS main committee from Krajina, the SDS municipal committee from Banja Luka, presidents of local committees, deputies of the RS people's assembly, and deputies of the Banja Luka municipal assembly. A long and open debate focused on party problems and a number of general issues, such as regional relations, especially those between Banja Luka and Pale.

Constitution Prohibits Extradition to Hague Court

LD1902182495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1806 GMT 19 Feb 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Feb. 19 (TANJUG)—No citizen of the Srpska republic can under the country's constitution be extradited to the international court for war crimes in the Former Yugoslavia, Bosnian Serb Minister of Justice and Administration Jovo Rosic has said.

Rosic told TANJUG in connection with the indictment of 21 citizens of the Bosnian Serb Republic by the Hague-based international war crimes court that 'under Article 30 of the amendment to the constitution, no citizen of the Spska republic can be stripped of citizenship, exiled or extradited to a foreign state.'

'I am convinced that the indictment is founded on false evidence obtained from our enemies—Muslim and Croat perpetrators of war crimes,' Rosic said.

The Bosnian Serb justice and administration minister said the international court for war crimes in the Former Yugoslavia, set up on the basis of a U.N. Security Council resolution and not an international convention, was not legal and could not be in the function of the preservation of peace, which was given as the reason for its founding.

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Rosic said he doubted the court's impartiality, and in illustration set out that the court had not asked for evidence about Muslim and Croat crimes against the Serb civilian population. He said that fact did not support the statements of international court representatives that criminal action would be taken against 'all persons about whom information and evidence exist that they have committed crimes, regardless of who they are, from where and what posts they hold.'

The Bosnian Serb justice and administration minister said 'Serbs in the Srpska republic would accept the international court as legal and legitimate only if and when it started reviewing crimes against the Serb civilian population.'

UNHCR Charges Situation in Bihac 'Critical'

AU2002190195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The convoy with humanitarian aid that left Zagreb for Bihac this morning was halted in Petrinja at about 0900. UNHCR Sarajevo spokesman Chris Janowski said that the Serbs from the UN Protected Areas were demanding that the convoys travel via Velika Kladusa to Bihac instead of via Licko Petrovo Selo, although UNHCR received permission two days ago from the self-styled Serb authorities in Knin for the convoy to pass through Licko Petrovo Selo.

The humanitarian situation in Bihac is extremely critical. This is best illustrated by UNHCR spokesman Chris Janowski's words: The overall humanitarian situation is extremely hard, and we think that the phrase death by starvation is applicable when we speak of the most vulnerable groups of the population, the old and the weak that cannot look after themselves, and the displaced people that depend entirely on the humanitarian aid, which—as you know—has not been entering Bihac. Therefore I believe that the overall situation is critical. This is the worst, the hardest situation with food we have had in Bosnia-Herzegovina since the outbreak of the war, Chris Janowski said.

Government To Protest UN Claim

LD1802193295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Several legal documents from the jurisdiction of the republic were adopted at today's government session chaired by Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic. Senada Cumurovic has the report.

[Cumurovic] [Passage omitted] The difficult humanitarian situation in Bihac was also discussed. It was decided that Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic should lodge a strong protest with Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy, over today's statement by an UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] spokesman. The spokesman said at a news conference that the UNHCR was exaggerating when it described the humanitarian situation in Bihac as extremely difficult. Besides being at loggerheads with reality, this is also in contravention of the UN Security Council chairman's statement of 17 February.

The Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina continued its session behind closed doors.

Abdic Forces Block Aid Convoy

AU1702184895 Paris AFP in English 1748 GMT 17 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Feb 17 (AFP)—Rebel Moslem forces Friday [17 February] blocked a UN relief convoy headed for the Bosnian government-held Bihac pocket, in the northwest of the country, the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said here.

The forces of rebel leader Fikret Abdic, who control a small area in the north of the Bihac enclave, Friday held up an aid convoy taking 100 tonnes of food to government-held territory, even though they themselves were given six truckloads of UNHCR supplies Thursday, UNHCR spokesman Kris Janowski said.

The convoy was held up in Velika Kladusa as Abdic forces claimed fighting was going on south of the town and that it was too dangerous for the trucks to proceed along the road, Janowski said. However, UNHCR sources said there was no fighting south of the town.

The halted convoy regrouped at the UN Bangladeshi base in Velika Kladusa where it would wait until Saturday for clearance to continue. Should clearance be denied, the convoy would unload its supplies at the base before returning to Zagreb, Janowski said.

In such a case, a convoy scheduled to leave Zagreb on Saturday would be cancelled, he added. The food situation in Bihac has been described as "extremely critical" by the UNHCR, and "serious, but not desperate" by the UN Protection Force here.

On Wednesday, a convoy with 100 tonnes of food reached government-held territory in Bihac.

Herceg-Bosna's Presidential Council To Reshuffle

LD1702182295 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 17 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The presidential council of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna has held a session in Mostar. Today's session was chaired by President Kresimir Zubak. A reshuffle was announced as one year has elapsed since the council was established. Ivan Kristic reporting.

[Kristic] At today's session of the presidential council of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna President Kresimir Zubak submitted a report on the current talks regarding the implementation of the peace agreement and overcoming the obstacles to the establishment of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. He stressed that his talks with Ejup Ganic had considerably reduced tensions not only in Mostar but also in Usora, Brcko, and Tuzla, too, where the state of relations between the Croats and the Muslim had

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considerably improved. U.S. Ambassador Victor Jakovich's visit to Mostar is yet another demonstration of U.S. support for the federation, President Zubak said.

Major General Tihomoir Blaskic, the chief of the general staff of the Croat Defense Council [HVO] informed the presidential council about the military and security situation in the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna and the restructuring of the HVO. Following today's reshuffle in the presidential council, this political body includes: President Kresimir Zubak, members Ivan Bender, Jadranko Prlic, Dario Kordic, Vladimir Soljic, Mile Akmadzic, Tihomir Blaskic, Valentin Soric, Ivo Lozancic, Mijo Brajkovic, Branimir Huterer, Pero Markovic, and Ivo Zivkovic.

Kordic: 40 Percent of Croats Have Left Tuzla

LD1802182295 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A top-level delegation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] spent the past few days visiting the Croat community of Soli [Croat enclaves around Muslim-held Tuzla] and the Ravne-Brcko municipality [Croat enclave south of Brcko]. Here is an excerpt from an interview given to HINA correspondent Pejo Gasparevic by [Bosnian] HDZ President Dario Kordic.

[Begin recording] [Gasparevic] Mr. President, you spent several days in Tuzla and Brcko. We have been receiving disturbing reports regarding the Croats living in these areas. What is really happening there, and what is the current position of local Croats?

[Kordic] I would like to say that the main problem is a mass exodus of the Croat population that began with the signing of the Washington Agreement. Over the last nine months, from April 1994 to February 1995, almost 15,000 Croats left the Soli area—this is more than 40 percent of the Croat population according to the 1991 census. [passage omitted] [end recording]

UNPROFOR To Increase Airspace Monitoring

AU2002133195 Paris AFP in English 1307 GMT 20 Feb 95

[By Francis Curta]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Feb 20 (AFP)—The UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) said Monday it would increase monitoring of local airspace in a bid to deter violations of the no-fly zone over Bosnia by dozens of unidentified aircraft, notably helicopters. The aircraft are flying covert missions, especially at night, to reinforce and resupply military positions, according to informed sources here.

New listening and observation posts will be set up, using both human and electronic detection methods, in the Tuzla area of northeast Bosnia in the wake of the latest violations, UNPROFOR spokesman Major Herve Gourmelon said. UN soldiers in the area would notably be issued with night-vision goggles.

"We shall try, if not to prevent, to detect more precisely further flights," in the Tuzla area, he said.

Overnight Friday, seventeen helicopter sorties were detected over the government-held Tuzla area, along with a flight by a fixed-wing aircraft, Gourmelon said. Helicopters were detected flying in groups of twos and threes, but at one stage up to five flew in formation, he said. And on Sunday, a helicopter identified as an Mi8 was detected in the same area.

Violations of the no-fly zone imposed by the UN Security Council in October 1992 are not new, as all parties to the war have made regular use of aircraft, especially helicopters, to reinforce and resupply.

"There is a pattern of very regular violation of air space over Bosnia, especially by helicopter," said UNPROFOR spokesman Alexander Ivanko.

Some 5,000 violations of Bosnian airspace had been reported since the no-fly ban was imposed, he said. Franco Veltri, a NATO spokesman in Naples, for his part put the number of violations registered both by the Atlantic alliance and UNPROFOR at 3,700 violations over the same period. Most were by helicopters, many painted white and bearing a Red Cross, which made it difficult for action to be taken against them, he said. But there was "no air activity in direct support of military action," he added.

The only time NATO intervened to enforce the no-fly zone was in February last year when two US F-16 fighters downed four Serb planes over the central Bosnian town of Novi Travnik as they sought to attack a government munitions factory.

UNPROFOR monitors Bosnian airspace from the ground, while NATO aircraft, including AWACS radar planes, constantly keep watch from the sky. Serb radio in Pale, quoting a commander in the eastern sector, Monday denied that the most recent flights were by Serb aircraft.

The commander warned that Serb forces would strike at Tuzla airport should fighting resume to stop Moslem forces from receiving supplies there. [passage omitted]

UNPROFOR Expresses Concern

AU2002092195 Paris AFP in English 0912 GMT 20 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Feb 20 (AFP)—The UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) Monday expressed concern over large-scale violations of the no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina by dozens of unidentified aircraft, notably helicopters. On Saturday, sixteen helicopters were sighted flying over the government-held Tuzla area in northeast Bosnia, along with one fixed-wing

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aircraft, Major Herve Gourmelon said. In one case, five of the helicopters flew together in formation, he said.

And on Sunday, a helicopter, identified as an Mi8, was seen in the same area flying in a south by west direction. UNPROFOR said it would seek to reinforce its surveillance in a bid to better detect and identify aircraft which are believed to be ferrying in military supplies.

All sides in the war have been flying numerous air missions over the past weeks. Between February 1 and 4, UN peacekeepers deployed in eastern Bosnia reported 62 helicopter flights near the Moslem-held enclave of Srebrenica.

Initial UN field reports suggested the aircraft had come from the direction of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. At the time, UN military observers had been barred from watching radar screens at Belgrade airport.

On Thursday, Bosnian authorities acknowledged that one of their helicopters had landed in the eastern enclave of Gorazde with a million German marks [DM] ($660,000). News of the flight leaked out when the Bosnian authorities asked UNPROFOR to help them recover DM150,000 that had mysteriously gone missing during the transfer. UNPROFOR monitors Bosnian airspace from the ground, while planes from the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), including AWACS radar planes, constantly keep watch from the sky.

The only time NATO effectively intervened to enforce the no-fly zone was in February last year when two U.S. F-16 fighters downed four Serb planes over the central Bosnian town Novi Travnik as they sought to attack a government munitions factory.

UNPROFOR and Western diplomatic sources have spoken of increased military activity in northeast Bosnia over the past few weeks, with government forces making it increasingly difficult for UN monitors to travel in the area. Reports here spoke of some 70 trucks travelling through government-held territory northwest of Tuzla over the weekend.

Serb Helicopter Overflights

AU2002101295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 20 Feb 95

[Report by Hamiz Deronjic and Midhat Salihovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Serbian aggressor did not rest on Brcko's battlefield last night. Apart from the intensified fire from infantry arms, the chetniks also attacked the positions of the 108th Motorized Brigade with antiaircraft machine guns. The enemy displayed the most intense activities in the area of Donja Brka, which became the target of the enemy's machine guns, Brovings, and rifle grenades.

The traffic on the air corridor above Brcko intensified last night. From 2100 to 2130 [2000 to 2030 GMT] we registered altogether five overflights by chetnik helicopters on the Brcko-Bijeljina route.

3d Corps Reports Overflights

AU2102111395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 21 Feb 95

[Report by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 3d Corps Press Center]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In the course of yesterday and overnight, the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor opened infantry fire along all defense lines held by the soldiers of the 3d Corps. The most intense provocations were noted on the Zavidovici-Vozuca part of the front, where the aggressor also attacked the defense lines in (?Tunjik) with M-84 machine guns. In this area, our soldiers noted frequent movements of aggressor's vehicles toward Vozuca, helicopter overflights from the direction of Doboj, and the stepped up fortification of the existing lines. [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic, Smith Discuss Cease-Fire Agreement

AU2002150995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Alija Izetbegovic of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency received today British General Rupert Smith, commander of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] for Bosnia-Herzegovina, and UNPROFOR Civil Sector chief Enrique Aguilar. The talks were attended by Presidency member and Federation vice president Ejup Ganic, and Minister Hasan Muratovic, chairman of the State Commission for Cooperation with UNPROFOR.

The talks focused on the implementation of the cessation of hostilities. The Bosnian side confirmed its interest in the normalization of road traffic, particularly the blue routes, which would alleviate the suffering of the civilian population. The question of the demilitarized zone of Srebrenica was also brought up at the talks. UNPROFOR should carry out a reconnaissance tour of the region, like around Sarajevo, considering the fact that the Serb aggressor is militarily active in parts of the demilitarized zone of Srebrenica.

The aggressor is continuing to attack the Bihac region. The Bosnian side maintains that humanitarian aid should urgently be delivered to the people of that region from Banja Luka and Bosanski Petrovac. Humanitarian aid should also be delivered to other regions of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Gen. Smith proposed a meeting between the military commanders of our forces and the forces of the aggressor. The decision on that will be made after a meeting between the civilian authorities and the aggressor's side.

The talks also concerned the end to hostilities in Bihac, and all the other issues connected to the situation in that region. We have some ideas on how to improve the conditions in Bihac. We have to find an adequate solution to this problem, Gen. Smith told BH PRESS, following his talks with President Izetbegovic.

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Foreign Minister's Threat on Opening New Front

LD1902190395 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 19 Feb 95

[Report over video by correspondent Zvonk Bozinovic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] There were no major political or diplomatic events in Sarajevo today. There were no serious cease-fire violations in the city or around it either. The most important news is again coming from west Bosnia. The Srpska republic army, the Serbs from Croatia's UN Protected Areas, and Fikret Abdic's forces are focusing their attacks on the Johovica and Vidovska area near Velika Kladusa. The humanitarian situation in west Bosnia is still dramatic.

Around noon I spoke to [Bosnian] Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic in Sarajevo. Minister Ljubijankic repeated the warning he recently told the Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's envoy, that if the attacks in west Bosnia continue, the Bosnia-Herzegovina army will open a new battlefront elsewhere in Bosnia-Herzegovina when and where it suits it. In a statement for Croatian TV, Minister Ljubijankic also said that if the blockade of the humanitarian aid delivery to west Bosnia continues, he will insist that the UNHCR should suspend aid deliveries to the Serbs in Croatia's UN Protected Areas. [passage omitted]

Muslims Start Compulsory Mobilization of Women

LD1902141395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1242 GMT 19 Feb 95

[Received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Doboj, 19 Feb (SRNA)—The mobilization of women has started in the Muslim-held parts of former Bosnia-Herzegovina. The "best results" were recorded in the Podrinja-Tuzla canton, the Muslim Tuzla radio reported today.

The compulsory mobilization order affects all women aged 18 to 65, who, depending on their abilities, will be deployed in units of the Muslim Army. All women of mobilization age, as well as all able-bodied men, are banned from traveling abroad without the special permission of the Defense Ministry.

Tuzla radio gives an example of Gradacac, where the biggest number of women have so far joined the Muslim Army. [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic Hears About Sandzak Bosniaks' 'Fate'

AU1702204895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, today received a delegation of Bosniaks from Sandzak. The delegation consisted of Dr. Enes Pelidija and Hasim Dizdarevic of the Association of Bosniaks originating from Sandzak and Sehada Kulenovic and Kemal Kurtovic of the Information Center of the Muslim National Council of Sandzak.

The delegation informed President Izetbegovic and Prime Minister Silajdzic about the grave sufferings of Bosniaks in Sandzak, pointing out that since the beginning of the aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina, 45 villages and five hamlets with Bosniak Muslim populations along the border with the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina have been ethnically cleansed. Forty-four Bosniak Muslims have been killed and 181 wounded and nothing is known about their fate.

Sulejman Ugljanin, chairman of the Muslim National Council of Sandzak, was banned from returning to Sandzak, and a warrant has been issued for his arrest. Due to repression, between 70,000 and 75,000 Bosniak Muslims were forced to leave Sandzak and seek refuge elsewhere in the world.

A staged political process against 24 activists of the Party of Democratic Action of Sandzak has just been concluded in Novi Pazar and they have been sentenced to a total of 80 years in prison, while 21 members of the leadership of the Party of Democratic Action for Montenegro were sentenced in Bijelo Polje to a total of 87 years in prison.

As of 28 June 1993, it has been made impossible for the Permanent Observers Mission for the OSCE to work in Sandzak, as well as in Vojvodina and Kosovo. Reports that are being received from Sandzak every day are worrying as they confirm that the persecution of Bosniaks is continuing. According to reports, more than 15,000 people have undergone police processes.

Due to this situation, one can expect the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government to soon hold a special session devoted to the situation in Sandzak. President Izetbegovic said that Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot leave such a significant group of the Bosniak population without support.

Izetbegovic Receives Iranian Majles Delegation

LD1902191495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic today received a parliamentary delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran, headed by [name indistinct], member of the parliament's main committee]. During its visit to Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Iranian parliamentary delegation is scheduled to meet representatives of our parliament, government officials, and representatives of nongovernmental institutions.

President Izetbegovic expressed his gratitude for the support and humanitarian aid extended by Iran to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Iranian parliamentary delegation was also received by the Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Republic

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and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The meeting was also attended by Enes Karic, education, science, and culture minister.

The prime minister informed the delegation about the current situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. [Name indistinct], head of the Iranian delegation, stressed that the Iranian people and state leadership sincerely empathize with the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina and are trying to extend as much aid as they can to the just struggle waged by Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We especially appreciate Iran's aid, as this aid is unselfish and is not conditional on any demands or concessions, Prime Minister Silajdzic said. The two sides examined possibilities for the further promotion of economic cooperation between the two countries, as well as possibilities for stengthening links and relations in the areas of science and culture.

Muslims Mobilize Fresh Troops for Mostar

LD2002180095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1713 GMT 20 Feb 95

[Item received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Doboj, 20 Feb (SRNA)—The Muslims are carrying out additional mobilization in the Zenica and Travnik districts, in order to dispatch fresh troops to Mostar where the situation between Muslims and Croats is becoming "increasingly complicated," Croat Radio Herceg-Bosna-Studio Usora, broadcasting from Sivsa near Tesanj, reported today.

This mobilization includes young men who have just been recruited by the Muslim army.

Citing intelligence gathered by the command of the Croat Defense Council's central Bosnia operational zone in Vitez, the same source claims that Muslim soldiers on leave are also urgently rejoining their units. [passage omitted]

Croats Resume Attacks on Serbs in SW Bosnia

LD2002205395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2015 GMT 20 Feb 95

[Item received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Grahovo, 20 Feb (SRNA)—Units of the army of Croatia and the Croat Defense Council resumed their aggression today against the southwest border of the Srpska Republic, using all available weapons in their attacks on the foothills of Mount Dinara, the press center of the 2d Krajina Corps reports.

Croats fired dozens of artillery shells today, attacking civilian targets in Grkovci and Vijenac, some 20 km from Grahovo.

Serb soldiers and their positions in the eastern sector of the Grahovo front, near Bastasi and Nugalsice, also came under artillery attack. [passage omitted]

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Tudjman Wants Border Observers During Withdrawal

LD1802161495 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman received in the presidential palace today Ambassador (Robert Fraser), the new U.S. member of the Contact Group. The following officials also attended the talks: Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister; Miomir Zuzul, the president's special envoy and Croatian ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva; Zeljko Matic, the president's adviser for foreign policy; (Chris Hills), director for Central and East Europe in the State Department; Gordan Radim, head of the president's office; and Ronald Neitzke from the U.S. Embassy in Zagreb.

They discussed the possibility of finding a peaceful solution for the temporarily occupied areas of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. In this respect, Ambassador (Fraser) briefed President Tudjman on the latest stances and efforts made by the United States and the Contact Group.

The president said that concern that conflicts might renew because of Croatia's decision to terminate the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] mandate is unfounded. With regard to the UNPROFOR departure following the expiry of its mandate, the president said that Croatia will propose that during the process of the gradual withdrawal of UNPROFOR a possibility should be found—in cooperation with the international community—to deploy observers along Croatia's internationally recognized borders and along roads leading to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

President Tudjman also spoke about the implementation of the agreement of 2 December 1994 and the process of reopening roads and railway lines in Croatia.

Zagreb Seeks Mutual Recognition With Belgrade

LD1802144995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1426 GMT 18 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sofia, Feb 18 (TANJUG)—Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic said in a statement published in the Sofia daily STANDART on Saturday that Zagreb wanted to normalize relations with Belgrade but on condition the two sides mutually recognized each other.

Granic said the normalization of relations with Belgrade was one of Zagreb's chief foreign-policy goals, and set out that 'Croatia also wants an equitable solution to be found at last for Bosnia-Herzegovina.'

The Croatian minister denied the existence of secret accords between Zagreb and Belgrade concerning The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Granic said Bosnia-Herzegovina as an independent Islamic state was unacceptable to Europe, the United States, moderate Islamic states, and even most of the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He said that was why Croatia wanted the implementation of the Washington Agreement on the Muslim-Croat Federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the normalization of relations with Belgrade.

Granic said Croatia was ready to resume talks with Serbs in Krajina (republic of Serb Krajina), with Belgrade and international institutions with a view to having a peaceful and equitable solution reached. The republic of Serb Krajina was proclaimed by the local Serbs in 1991, after Croatia launched a war of secession from the former Yugoslav Federation.

UNPROFOR Planning for NATO Involvement

AU2002203995 Paris AFP in English 1930 GMT 20 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Feb 20 (AFP)—The UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) has drawn up contingency plans for a NATO rapid action force to cover its withdrawal from Croatia if troops are threatened, a UN spokesman said Monday [20 February].

Contingency plans envisage sending a NATO force to Croatia within 48 hours if the withdrawing troops are in danger or are prevented from leaving by military leaders or civilians, notably in the Serb-controlled Krajina region, Paul Risley, an UNPROFOR spokesman, said.

In January the Croatian Government decided not to renew the UN peacekeeping mandate in Croatia beyond March 31, charging that UNPROFOR had failed to persuade Serb separatists controlling a quarter of Croatia to return the land to Zagreb's control.

Risley said NATO had offered 40,000 troops to support the peacekeepers, who have to leave Croatia by June 30, but the UN had not included that many in its contingency planning and any involvement by the NATO would be a last resort. The UN hoped the withdrawal could be completed peacefully, he said.

Senior NATO officials in Europe started a computer-simulated exercise at Ramstein in Germany on February 13 to plan a UN evacuation from former Yugoslavia.

Akashi Starts Talks With RSK Leaders

LD2102112695 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1048 GMT 21 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—Talks between delegations of the United Nations and the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] on the consequences of Croatia's unilateral decision to terminate the UN peacekeepers' mandate on 31 March this year began in Knin today.

The UN delegation is led by Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy for former Yugoslavia. It also includes: Bertrand de Lapresle, UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] commander for former Yugoslavia; (Michel Moussalli), head of UNPROFOR's

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civilian sector; and General (Rosislav Kotil), commander of UN forces in Sector South.

The RSK delegation is led by RSK President Milan Martic, and includes: Foreign Minister Milan Babic; Assembly President Rajko Lezajic; Dusan Loncar, chief of the general staff of the RSK army; and Lacar Macura, chairman of the assembly's foreign affairs committee.

Martic: FRY Not To Recognize Former Republics

LD1802120495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1056 GMT 18 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 17 Feb (SRNA)—Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] said on 17 February he believed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] would not recognize the former Yugoslav republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. "Any politician who would do that would not remain in power for a second longer," Martic said.

"Serbia has reached the limit of tolerance, and if we give way any more it would be an act of treason," said Martic in a special program of the Serb TV's Banja Luka studio.

The RSK president believes Croatia's decision to terminate UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Force] mandate and the latest international initiative on the mutual recognition of the former Yugoslav republics is "a result of an agreement between Zagreb and Bonn to force the FRY and the RSK to agree by 30 March to something they must not on any account."

Replying to a question whether the FRY would take action in accordance with the Vance plan in the case of Croatia's aggression [toward Krajina], Martic said:

"I believe in help from the Srpska republic. If Muslims and Croats can enter military coalitions after so much mutual killing, it is natural that the people belonging to the same nation should jointly defend their borders. " Likewise, I believe that the FRY will not turn its back on its brothers west of the Drina, and I have already discussed this matter with some politicians in Belgrade who gave me assurances that the Yugoslav Army would protect Krajina."

Tanjga Rejects Demilitarization Demand

AU1702190895 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Feb 95

[Statement by Rade Tanjga, "defense minister" of the republic of Serbian Krajina, to Radio Belgrade; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] I personally favor that everything possible and everything that is within our power be done to prevent a war conflict. However, I must say that the Serbian people in the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] have a minimum below which we certainly cannot go. Be it Z-4 or Z-25, or whatever somebody might propose to us, I am sure, and I say this as the defense minister, in not a single option of a political solution will we agree to not having our own army. Therefore, the minimum of what the Serbian people in the RSK must demand and from which they will not step down is our own army, or absolute demilitarization of the entire territory of the former Yugoslavia.

Therefore, there can be no demilitarization of Krajina while Croatia would have its army but we would have a sort of militia, or who knows what. This is out of the question. Therefore, the people in the RSK will not disarm themselves—you can be sure of that—and will not agree to not having their own army.

Croatian Planes Fly Over Serb Krajina

LD2002165095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1634 GMT 20 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Okucani, Feb. 20 (TANJUG)—Croatian planes on Monday twice flew over the region of western Slavonia in the republic of Serb Krajina, in a violation of the ceasefire agreement, Serb Krajina sources said.

The local Serb Krajina army command said the objective of the action was believed to be aerial photographing and reconnaissance inside the Serb-controlled part of the U.N. protected area (UNPA). The command said it would protest with the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) over the incident.

Croatia in January said it would oppose an extension of UNPROFOR's mandate beyond March 31, and its army has ever since been building up troops along the demarcation line with the republic of Serb Krajina, Krajina army sources said. They said infiltration of terrorist groups had also intensified.

Croatia and the republic of Serb Krajina last March signed a ceasefire agreement and concluded an economic agreement at the end of the year. The latter has already begun to give fruit.

A political settlement of the conflict was planned to be the third phase of the negotiating process but Croatia has in the meantime announced its decision to deny further hospitality to UNPROFOR and renewed military threats to Krajina.

Croatia has so far launched four offensives on the Serb Krajina territory, although it has been under U.N. protection since March 1992. The republic of Serb Krajina was proclaimed in December 1991 in Serb ethnic and historical territories in the former Yugoslav republic of Croatia in response to Croatia's unilateral secession from the former Yugoslav Federation and removal of Serb national rights from the Croatian constitution.

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Police, Albanian Protesters Clash; 1 Killed

LD1702175495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1653 GMT 17 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 17 Feb (TANJUG)—Today, a man died outside the building of the illegal ethnic university in Tetovo and at least five persons were seriously injured in an armed clash between heavy police forces of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and a large group of militant Albanians, local radio and TV stations have reported.

At about 1445 someone fired at the security organs there as a large group of Albanians were attempting to force their way into the "university office." The police returned fire. TANJUG has learned that five persons have been admitted to Tetovo's hospital.

Heavy police forces have blocked the area around the site of the clash. According to TANJUG's own sources, at the moment Tetovo is quiet. In the village of Poroj near Tetovo classes were held today for about 50 Albanian "students" at the illegal faculties of law and economics, while a large group of Albanians prevented police from entering a local council office, situated within the grounds of a mosque, that was converted to a "university" classroom.

A clash between the police and the villagers of Poroj has, however, been averted. At the moment there is only a small group of Albanians outside the mosque, and the "students" have gone home.

Situation 'Very Tense'

AU1702191095 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 17 Feb 95

[Telephone report by Ibadete Hajrullahu from Skopje]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] military police forces intervened in Recice e Vogel of Tetovo, where the Faculty of Mathematical and Natural Sciences of the Tetovo Albanian University is situated. There are reports of dead and wounded. This has just happened and is still occurring during the afternoon hours. Let us follow the first report from our correspondent Ibadete Hajrullahu who is on the line from Skopje:

[Hajrullahu] One dead, five wounded, several beaten, and several arrested—these are the freshest reports we have from Tetovo. A confrontation of the Macedonian police with Albanian citizens—one side defends the buildings of the Tetovo University, while the other side executes the decision or the stance of the Macedonian Government that it will undertake all judicial measures to prevent the activity of the university, which it has assessed as illegal and anticonstitutional.

Citizens from Tetovo report that the clashes between the two sides resemble a real battlefield—shots from firearms and emergency aid workers carrying the wounded. That is what occurred this afternoon in Recice e Vogel village, where the Faculty of Mathematical and Natural Sciences is situated.

Reports from Tetovo confirm that Recice e Vogel is being blocked by police and military forces. The situation is very tense.

The police forces have largely increased in Tetovo, too. Reports from Tetovo confirm that armored cars and other police and army vehicles still move around, while the circulation of citizens has become very rare. It is even impossible to see any citizen. It has also become very difficult to obtain information.

Members of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and the OSCE [Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe], whose cars circulate in the streets, observed the entire unpleasant event. And the U.S. delegation led by Joseph Diogardi is still in Tetovo. Their presence in Macedonia was assessed as private by the Macedonian authorities, while Diogardi confessed the contrary and stated that he will inform the U.S. Congress of what happened here.

The mediator Gert Ahrens is staying in Skopje and has met Interior Minister Frckovski, education and justice ministers, as well as other functionaries. The content of talks as we are now reporting has not still been released. Ahrens has also met with representatives of the Albanian political parties in Macedonia.

[Announcer] The situation in Tetovo continues to be tense. The number of those wounded has reached 15. A detailed information will be broadcast in the 1900 GMT newscast.

Albanian Parties React

AU1702210295 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 17 Feb 95

[Telephone report by Ibadete Hajrullahu from Skopje]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Popular Democratic Party Chairman Iljaz Halimi and Bedredin Ibrahimi have addressed the citizens assembled in Tetovo and University Rector Dr. Fadil Sulejmani.

Reports say that the citizens have dispersed, while police forces continue to guard the university buildings.

The Party for Democratic Prosperity is calling the police intervention an act representing direct (?violence) against interethnic relations in the republic and leading to a general destabilization of interethnic relations in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia]. This is also a shameful and brutal attack against the right of people to receive education in their mother tongue.

The highest political institutions in Macedonia, including the president of the republic, should be more responsible about the situation that has been created.

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The communique states further that the party demands that the police forces withdraw immediately from the area in order not to create a further deterioration of the climate. At the same time, they appealed to citizens to avoid provocations at present, the communique states.

Nonofficial sources say that representatives of Albanian political parties and the rector of the Tetovo University have gathered at the Popular Democratic Party headquarters to consider the situation.

Nonofficial sources also report that efforts were made for even the Macedonian citizens to be organized to express their revolt against the latest situation.

Sulejmani Reportedly Arrested

AU1702210495 Skopje MIC in English 17 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Macedonian Radio broadcast the information received from MAKPRESS this evening, according to which the rector of the Tetovo University Fadil Sulejmani has been arrested, while the president of the Albanian-American league, the former Republican congressman Joseph Diogardi has been banished from the country.

This information, however, was denied this evening by the Macedonian Television. Reliable sources claim that Sulejmani is in Tetovo and that he will hold a press conference tonight. The same source claims that Joseph Diogardi left Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] this morning, of his own free will.

Tonight, the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] presidency condemned the police intervention, calling it an "act for destabilization of Macedonia and a direct attack on the interethnic relations."

President Abdurahman Aliti blamed this on the political institutions in Macedonia and President Gligorov, who oppose the request for opening a university in Albanian language in Macedonia. Aliti called on the Macedonian Albanians to "maintain the peace and quiet, so as irresponsible persons do not to take the situation in their own hands."

The radical leader Menduh Tachi stated this evening that people were still gathered in Mala Rechica. "We are trying to convince them to disperse, and I think we will succeed."

The number of injured persons has grown to 19, of which 9 are police officers. Emini Abdulselam (33) has died. One police officer is heavily injured and taken to the military hospital in Skopje.

Authorities To Maintain Order

AU1702210595 Skopje MIC in English 17 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The spokesman of the Macedonian Government Gjuner Ismail assessed the statement made by Albania's President Sali Berisha, distributed by the Albanian Embassy in Skopje as indecent, describing it as interference in the internal matters of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia]

Minister Ismail reiterated the stance that the University in Tetovo is illegal, unlawful and in contradiction with the Macedonian Constitution. He added the Government would undertake all necessary measures to stop its activities.

If it is determined that Diogardi's [former U.S. congressman] visit oversteps the boundaries of friendly activities, and if the law and order is violated, appropriate legal measures will be taken.

Albanian Students End Boycott

AU1702212795 Skopje MIC in English 17 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The students of Albanian nationality, who entirely boycotted their classes in the past three months, yesterday returned to the Teachers' College "St. Clement of Ohrid" in Skopje and started to regularly follow their classes from the summer semester.

At present, they can not be provided classes in Albanian language—which was a demand and motive for the boycott—for three subjects. Several university professors have agreed to hold these classes, but till the completion of the formalities concerning their part-time employment, the students of Albanian nationality will follow the classes in Macedonian language. This was agreed with the student representatives from the first and second year at the College, while the acting director of the Teachers' College Borislav Micevski told them that they would have to follow classes regularly from that moment onward.

According to the decision of the college council, the students of Albanian nationality will have to make up for all the classes missed during the boycott over the weekends, in order to verify the winter semester.

PDP Leader Blames Gligorov

AU1702212995 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 17 Feb 95

[Interview with PDP Deputy Chairman Mendu Thaci via telephone—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer Bujar Muharremi] Regarding today's events in Tetovo, the RTSh information department has made efforts to contact representatives of the Tetovo University, Albanian intellectuals in Tetovo, or representatives of political parties, which was very difficult as the telephone lines were not functioning. Anyway, at the last minute, we had the possibility to contact the deputy chairman of the Party for Democratic Prosperity [PDP], Mr. Mendu Thaci, who reported on his impressions regarding today's situation in Tetovo. Let us follow Mr. Thaci via telephone:

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[Thaci] I think that, in Tetovo today, Macedonian Interior Minister Frckovski and President Gligorov have succeeded in fulfilling their threats that they would use all available means at their disposal against the Tetovo University. In Recice e Vogel, at about 1600 today, the first victim of the Macedonian police fell supporting this university. The attack against the population, who were protecting the Faculty of Natural Sciences in Recice e Vogel, was brutal. The police automatic weapon fire were uncontrolled. There is one dead and nine wounded. The situation is very tense. The Albanian political parties are trying to calm the situation. However, there are great difficulties as people are seriously injured—there are dead and injured, as I mentioned.

The responsibility for the death of the victim and the situation that occurred falls on the Government of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] and the chairman of this state, Mr. Gligorov, who used the police forces against the temple of knowledge.

I want to avail myself of this occasion, through this program, to call on Albanians in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, in the PDP's name, to remain cool and not be manipulated by the provocations concocted by the Macedonian Government. They should avoid such provocations, as the university is a temple of the knowledge of Albanians and no force, even the police of Frckovski, can interrupt the free, direct, and transparent activity of this scientific institution.

Former U.S. Congressman Leaves

LD1702221095 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 17 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have learned from a high-ranking official of the Macedonian Ministry of Internal Affairs that the self-styled vice chancellor [of the Albanian university in Tetovo], Fadilj Sujelmani, has not been arrested, but a warrant for his arrest has been issued for instigating unrest.

We have also learned from the same source that former U.S. congressman Joseph Diogardi has left our state of his own accord—he has not been expelled, as reported by MAKPRESS news agency.

PDP Issues Statement

LD1702222195 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 17 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The presidency of the Party of Democratic Prosperity [PDP] today held an extraordinary session at which the situation (?in Tetovo) was examined. A statement from the session says that the PDP presidency [words indistinct] the act of intervention by the police force against Albanian citizens in the village of Mala Recica.

The presidency says that such an act represents a direct attack on interethnic relations in our republic and an act of general destabilization of relations in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia]. The statement goes on to say that the PDP believes that those most responsible for the newly created situation are the top political institutions in Macedonia, which, as the statement says, have not found a solution for implementing the program of university education in the Albanian language in Macedonia.

The PDP presidency appeals to citizens to be peaceful and to avoid activities that may provoke further exacerbation of relations in the municipality of Tetovo and throughout Macedonia. The PDP will continue to get actively involved in preventing misunderstandings and disputes through reciprocal tolerance and dialogue, the statement from the extraordinary session of the PDP presidency says.

UN Officials Make Appeal

AU1802143995 Paris AFP in English 1356 GMT 18 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje, Feb 18 (AFP)—UN peacekeeping officials appealed for calm here Saturday [18 February] after a clash between ethnic Albanians and Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] police left one protestor dead and 20 others injured in the western town of Tetovo.

"We deeply regret that there has been some violence, and we urge all parties to continue on the path of dialogue, goodwill, compromise and restraint," said Hugo Anson, the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) represntative here, said in a statement.

The clash Friday followed the opening of a university for Macedonia's ethnic Albanian minority population in the town Thursday in defiance of a ban by the Macedonian authorities. Anson's statement stressed that the UN Security Council had committed itself to ensuring repect for the "sovereignty and territorial integrity" of Macedonia.

"We urge all citizens of this republic to think of themselves first and foremost as citizens and only afterwards as members of various entnic groups and to continue extending the hand of friendship and understanding to each other within the law," the statement added.

The Macedonian authorities have banned the university, which they see as "anti-constitutional" and a covert means for supporting Albanian seperatism in the country.

A crowd of ethnic-Albanian demonstrators gathered in the village of Mala Recica, close to Tetovo, early afternoon Friday, and started shouting insults and throwing stones at police, witnesses said. Unidentified people then started shooting and the police returned fire, witnesses said.

Ethnic Albanians assert that they make up 40 percent of the more than two million-strong Macedonian population, while the authorities say that the figure is closer to

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20 percent. Opposition ethnic-Albanian parties have called for autonomy for their followers, based mainly in western Macedonia, bordering on Albania.

Government's Statement

AU1802210695 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 18 Feb 95 p 4

[Statement by government spokesman Gjuner Ismail; place and date not given: "The Initiative Will Be Stopped"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "As far as education is concerned, the stance of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] is completely clear. The initiative—that is, the activities concerning the so-called Albanian university in Tetovo—is illegal and anti-constitutional, and as such it will be stopped. The Macedonian Government will solve the question of education in general and as related to other nationalities. There will be no policy changes because we are following the Constitution and the laws.

Regarding the statement by [Albanian President] Sali Berisha on education in the Albanian language, this is a subject that does not deserve the engagement of a state president."

Protesters Quiet

AU1902133595 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 18 Feb 95

[Report by Dragan Antonovski]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] After yesterday's incident in Mala Recica, when one person was killed and several injured, the situation in Tetovo today can be described as calm. Dragan Antonovski reports:

[Antonovski] After yesterday's incident, Tetovo was quiet today. The police security, visible throughout the town, ranging from [words indistinct] to main road intersections, as well as the buildings housing political parties in Tetovo.

In the village of Poroj, where the situation yesterday remained tense until the police left, the situation today can be described as normal. In Mala Recica, where the serious incident took place yesterday, a funeral was held for the victim of yesterday's clash, Abdyl Selami. His funeral is estimated to have been attended by some 15,000 citizens of Albanian nationality and the leaderships of Albanian political parties in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia]. Selami's coffin was covered with [word indistinct] insignia, [words indistinct].

In Tetovo, there is much speculation that the police from the Republic of Serbia took part in yesterday's incident. This is being substantiated with the fact that the building of the so-called natural sciences faculty, where the promotion of the so-called Tetovo University was held, was demolished [words indistinct], while its front and the entrance door had the drawings of a cross and big letters, initials of our state, RM [Republic of Macedonia], and what irritated all those present the most, the insignia of Serb nationalists, four letters S and a cross. [passage omitted]

There were no incidents in Tetovo today, except that after the end of the funeral a group of people who left the funeral held a protest in front of Tetovo prison and the Administration for Internal Affairs, demanding the release of Fadil Suleymani and [word indistinct]. Following the intervention by the leaders of political parties of Albanians in Tetovo, and without any active involvement by the police, the protesters dispersed. [passage omitted]

OSCE Envoy Comments

AU1902151495 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 18 Feb 95

[Telephone report by Ibadete Hajrullahu from Skopje]

[FBIS Translated Text] The tragic events in Tetovo are being followed with special interest by the domestic and foreign public.

Tore Bok, chief of the OSCE mission in Skopje, has asked that both sides, Albanians and Macedonians [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], control their actions. He also expressed concern over yesterday's event. He has demanded an urgent meeting with Macedonian Interior Minister Frckovski today. Meanwhile, the OSCE high commissioner for minorities, Max van der Stoel, is expected to arrive in Skopje sometime today or tomorrow. [Words indistinct] on the complete damage of the Mathematical and Natural Sciences faculty building, graffiti on the walls, Serbian symbols, etc. are considered an ugly act by the state police or policemen from Serbia—acts that have astonished the OSCE observers. Minister Frckovski energetically denied such a statement and said that there were no Serbian policemen in Recice e Vogel yesterday.

Interior Ministry Vice Secretary Dime Zurev today threatened to meet with correspondents in order to clarify some of the circumstances and activities in Recice e Vogel yesterday.

Regarding the events in Tetovo, Hygo Ansen, special envoy of Yasushi Akashi in Skopje, stated that they are following the developments in Tetovo and Macedonia very closely. We regretfully read reports on the violence perpetrated there, he said. I invite the sides to resolve their problems through dialogue, compromise, and good will, he said. The report further states that the United Nations invites all sides to behave correctly, since one tends to lose more than one wins in a conflict.

The British Foreign Office expressed regret over the clash and its first victim. Great Britain urges Albanians

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to respect the law and the Constitution, while Macedonians are asked to fulfill the their promises and meet the Albanians' demands.

At the same time, it expresses regret over the cold interethnic relations in the republic and voices support for the integrity and stability of Macedonia, the report states.

We should remind you that the Macedonian Government's stance on Tetovo University is well known, while Albanians from the whole republic, parties, and other associations continue to support the work of the university and condemn the Macedonian police intervention in Recice e Vogel.

University To Continue Work

AU1902152795 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 18 Feb 95

[Report on telephone interview with Iljaz Halimi, chairman of the Albanian Popular Democratic Party, by an unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Regarding the situation in Tetovo and the stance by the Popular Democratic Party, we interviewed party chairman Iljaz Halimi.

[Halimi] The Presidency of the Popular Democratic Party [PDP] at a meeting today adopted a stance on the Tetovo events by first condemning the police violence resulting in one victim and more than 20 wounded. The responsibility for what happened yesterday falls on the president of the republic and the government, who have been dragging their heels on the issue of higher-level education in the mother tongue for four years.

The parliamentary group of the PDP will not attend future parliament meetings as long as conditions are not created for dialogue regarding higher-level education. The situation in Tetovo is calm right now, but there are still armed police groups present. We hope that they will disperse during the night so that the university classes can continue on 19 February.

Even though we know there will be obstacles, the university will not stop its work, and we will use all ways and means to see that its activities are successful.

Ethnic Albanians Set Ultimatum

LD1902154395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1226 GMT 19 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 19 Feb (TANJUG)—The situation in Tetovo is calm but tense today following the fierce armed clash during the afternoon of 17 February between ethnic Albanians and the police of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], when one demonstrator was killed and around 20 people were wounded, TANJUG has learned.

Abduselam Emini, "the first historic victim" of Shqiptar University—as ethnic Albanian leaders referred to the tragic death of the unfortunate young man at his funeral—was buried yesterday in the village of Mala Recica near Tetovo, the scene of the clash. It has not yet been confirmed who shot Emini.

There were more than 10,000 ethnic Albanians at the funeral, most of them from western Macedonia. Some came from neighboring Albania. Representatives from the OSCE and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] also attended.

After the funeral several thousand mostly young Shqiptars demonstrated in the streets of Tetovo. They went to the town's police station, where they demanded the release of 15 arrested ethnic Albanians. There were no incidents.

Dime Djurev, the Macedonian police under secretary for public security, told correspondents last night that criminal proceedings have been launched against five people: Fadilj Sulejmani, the dean of the illegal ethnic University, Miljaim Fejzij, Arben Rusi, Saban Cemal, and Arben Murtenzani.

The leaders of ethnic Albanian parties and associations set an ultimatum to the Macedonian authorities in Skopje to solve the problem of their higher education. If they fail to do so, the Albanian leaders threatened to resign from all posts in the government (four ministers in Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski's cabinet are ethnic Albanians) and the parliament, which local observers see as an introduction to very dangerous and uncertain events.

The Shqiptars' People's Democratic Party [Narodna Demokratska Partija] has already announced "the freezing" of its deputies's activity in the Macedonian Parliament until "dialogue is established" on, as they put it, "all outstanding issues."

Property Autonomy Proclaimed

AU1902170695 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 18 Feb 95 p 4

[Report on PDP news conference in Tetovo; date not given: "Autonomy of the 'University' Is Proclaimed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The self-proclaimed Rector's Office, the Senate, and the deans of the so-called Tetovo University have made a "statutory decision" to announce the autonomy of the "buildings that belong to the Albanian-language university in Tetovo" in accordance with Article 46 of the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] and Article 4 of the Act on the Foundation of the Para-University. This was announced by Fadil Sulejmani, self-proclaimed president of the "university," at the news conference that was held at the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] headquarters in Tetovo.

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"Article 1 of the decision states that all Tetovo University buildings are inviolable and enjoy full autonomy. Article 2 states that every interference and attack without permission from the university president will be treated as a flagrant violation of the autonomy that is guaranteed in the Constitution," Sulejmani said.

He stated that this decision warns the state bodies to give up, as he said, their former anticonstitutional behavior, explaining that the decision was made because of some Interior Ministry announcements for further measures to stop the regular activities of the "university."

Asked to comment on the view of Great Britain's Foreign Office and the Russian Federation representative on the illegal activities of Tetovo "university," the self-proclaimed president of the so-called university replied: "They should come here to Macedonia and see for themselves before they make any comments. I do not think they have all the proper information on order to express any views in connection with the university."

[Box, p 4]

According to unofficial sources, former U.S. Congressman Joseph Diogardi has been expelled from the state because of forbidden activities in the Republic of Macedonia that are connected with activities of the Albanian "university."

At the same time, unofficial sources claim that the self-proclaimed university president was taken by the police. However, we do not know whether he was detained or just taken in for informative discussions.

Thaci Calls For Boycott

AU2002083095 Skopje MIC in English 19 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The president of the seceded PDP [Party of Democratic Prosperity] wing Menduh Thaci stated for NOVA MAKEDONIJA yesterday that "the threats of the government and the Minister Frckovski, and the president of the state Gligorov came true." "The blame for the tragic epilogue is borne by the Government and Gligorov," said Thaci, "as they didn't find it necessary to even talk about the 'project university.'"

Thaci especially underlined that it was necessary for the parties of the Albanians to review their participation in all spheres of life in the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia]. To the question whether that creates a situation similar to that on Kosovo, Thaci replied affirmably, listing all elements, such as boycott and civil disobedience.

Ministry Arrests Five People

AU2002083495 Skopje MIC in English 19 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Following the incidents in Mala Recica, the Interior Ministry arrested five people. Namely, Fadil Sulejmani, the self-proclaimed rector of the university in Tetovo, Miljaim Fejzi, Arben Rusi, president of the humanitarian organization "El Hilal"—Tetovo, Sabani Kemal, and Arben Murtezani. Criminal charges have been brought against these five, according to the Articles 205, 206 and 218 from the Criminal Law of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], under the suspicion of calling people for resistance, participation in a mass that obstructs official persons from carrying out their official activities, illegal possession of firearms or explosive materials.

The Under Secretary Gjurev emphasized that the house of Saban Kemal was searched, following which it was determined that he possessed two pieces of firearms, and automatic rifle and a gun with ammunition.

The Interior Ministry expects the charges to be accepted, which will be submitted to an investigative judge.

Gligorov Sends Telegram

AU2002084995 Skopje MIC in English 19 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The president of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] Kiro Gligorov sent a telegram to the family of the tragic victim in the unrest in Mala Recica, with the following contents: "Please allow me to express my deepest condolences for the great loss your family has suffered with the tragic death of your son, husband and father Abduselam Emini.

"Such unnecessary and senseless casualties serve to remind us how crucial the mutual respect of the peace and security of all our citizens is, the tranquility of our families and the future of our state, in times of war, conflicts, and intolerance, as well as the readiness of all, within the framework of the system and its institutions, with mutual understanding, to settle all the problems, and even the most complex ones. Only that path promises us a better common future. Once again, I would like to express to you my sympathies for your deepest pain," is said in the telegram.

Official Views Gun

AU2002085095 Skopje MIC in English 19 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Under Secretary in the Interior Ministry Dime Gjurev announced at last night's press conference that according to the forensic report, the deceased Emini died from a gun shot wound in the chest. That way, Gjurev denied rumors that Emini died from machine-gun fire. The findings of the experts were supported in the press conference by photographs of the victim in this incident. Emini was shot from a distance of only 60 centimeters, with a 7.62-mm calibre gun, that is a M-57 (popularly called TT pistol).

Gjurev explained that a very small number of police officers own such a weapon, but also that such a gun can easily be bought on the market, at a relatively cheap price, so it is possible that it could have been used by the police, but also by the citizens in Mala Recica.

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Otherwise, most of the policemen were equipped with the guns "Zastava CZ-99 (9-mm), while the special task units were carrying "Broving-Hesler" guns (9-mm).

Under Secretary Gjurev emphasized that it was a civil obligation to uphold the decrees of the Criminal Law and the Law for Violation Proceedings. "Regardless of the national affiliation of the people who do not respect the law, the Interior Ministry will treat them equally," said Gjurev.

The competent department, as it was stressed in yesterday's press conference, is continuing its efforts to determine the participants in the Mala Recica incidents, while the arguments speak of more committed violations. Otherwise, the situation in Tetovo and the surrounding areas, according to under secretary Gjurev, is normalized. Yesterday, Emini was buried, while a part of the funeral procession headed toward the premises of the Tetovo Interior Ministry branch, with demands, which according to Gjurev, could not be fulfilled. According to Gjurev, this protest passed without any consequences.

OSCE Official Urges 'Restraint'

AU2002184695 Skopje MIC in English 20 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Following the meeting with President Gligorov, the OSCE [Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe] high commissioner for inter-ethnic issues stated in Skopje today: "On the current situation, I want to say it is my strong conviction that now is the time for restraint, for ultimate for all sides to remain calm. The common interest is to live together in harmony. The incidents that happened last Friday can only disturb this harmony.

"It is my full and firm conviction that it would further damage the interest of all population groups if there would be further escalation of the tensions. It is time not for mass demonstrations, but for dialogue to find a common way out.

"On this, I would like to say the following: The university issue is very much in the foreground. In my view, all these things have to be discussed in the framework of the preparation for the law of higher education. It is not possible to force the university issue using illegal means.

"I think it is important to have heard from the president, once again, that he fully intend to live up the all commitments mentioned in the various OSCE documents, also regarding members of various population groups and minorities. I think on this basis it must be possible to find solutions for all these problems facing this country."

Gligorov Discusses Issues With OSCE Official

LD2002221495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2135 GMT 20 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—Kiro Gligorov, president of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], today received Max van der Stoel, high commissioner for minority issues in the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE], it was announced in Skopje this evening.

The meeting was also attended by Tore Boh, head of the OSCE mission in the FYROM. The talks centered on events in the FYROM after the incident of last Friday, when the illegal university in the Shqiptar [Albanian] language was opened.

Gligorov stressed that the radicalization of national relations is a direct threat to peace and stability in the country. He believes that the escalation of the situation following the incident with the illegal university was a result of political, not educational, goals aimed at a wider radicalization of the Albanian issue in the region.

After his talks with Gligorov, government officials, and representatives of Shqiptar political parties, van der Stoel said that the current demands for the opening of an ethnic university are overemphasized and unrealistic. He called on all sides to exercise restraint, as this is in the interest of all who live in the country. According to van der Stoel, a possible further aggravation of the conflict would have dire consequences for overall interethnic relations in the FYROM. [passage omitted]

PDP President Aliti Calls For 'Dialogue'

AU2102131095 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 21 Feb 95 p 4

["I.S."-initialed report on statement of PDP President Abdurahman Aliti: "Dialogue Is Indispensable"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tetovo, 20 February. Asked about the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] intention to withdraw Albanian members of parliament from the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], the leader of the PDP Abdurahman Aliti replied:

"We are not interested in the behavior of other political parties and we do not interfere there. We construct our stances within the presidency of our party. In this context, the PDP stance is very clear—talks must go on and solutions for the open questions must be found through dialogue and through the institutions of the system. We think that all possibilities for the solution of the problem have not been exhausted yet."

As for the present political situation in Tetovo Commune, Aliti said as follows:

"There is still anxiety, but there are signs of a settlement. One of the proposals to the authority was to withdraw the police forces. That has been done, and I think that it is good. On our side, we promised to contribute toward a gradual settlement of the situation."

Regarding the possibility for studies at the "university" in Tetovo, Aliti said as follows:

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"The conditions for an appropriate standard should be created, and everything should be done within the framework of the system." Regarding the requests of the Albanian political parties for the release of those detained, Aliti said:

"In this sense, flexibility is necessary, and I am sure that a settlement of the situation is desired. That is why those who were detained should be released. Similar criminal acts, if they can be called criminal, happened in the past when some VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] leaders called the people to rebellion two years ago. There was also an appeal by a political party's spokesman who said that the authority can be replaced only by non-democratic means, and there are many other similar examples. If we compare Fadil Sulejmani's [president of the university at Tetovo] statement to previous ones, his statement is mild, because he called for a defense of the studies. He did not call for an attack, but for a defense. It all depends on whether we want to revitalize or inflame the situation."

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Defense Ministry Supplying Arms to B-H Muslims

LD1702165095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1315 GMT 17 Feb 95

["Pool" item by Igor Saranovic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ljubljana, Feb. 17 (TANJUG)—Top Slovene Defense Ministry, police and state officials have been involved in the shady deals of supplying Bosnian Muslims with arms, thus triggering more deaths in the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Miha Brejc, former head of the Slovene counterintelligence, said in his testimony before a special commission of the Slovene parliament that Slovenia had been selling and delivering arms and military equipment to Sarajevo Muslim Government troops between early 1991 and the autumn of 1994.

Brejc unequivocally accused the Slovene Defense Ministry and President Milan Kucan of being involved in selling arms to Bosnian Muslims. Brejc said the Slovene Defense Ministry had sent to Sarajevo last autumn a large quantity of uniforms, tents and field kitchens.

The transport was secured by Sarajevo Muslim Government troops who previously stayed several days in Ljubljana maintaining continuous links with their embassy there.

In mid-1994, top Sarajevo Muslim Government military and political officials paid several official and unofficial visits to Slovenia. After meeting with Ljubljana leaders, the Sarajevo Muslim Goverment stopped demanding that the Slovene Government return its 120 tons of arms and ammunition, seized by the members of the Slovene Defense Ministry at Maribor Airport in July 1993.

It was evident that Ljubljana and Sarajevo officials involved in the whole business had already agreed that the arms seized in Maribor should be returned to the Bosnian Muslims, and had closed new 'business' deals.

Brejc disclosed in his testimony also that Hasan Cengic, Bosnian Muslim Leader Alija Izetbegovic's key man in arms procurement, had acted as Izetbegovic's 'link' with Kucan.

Brejc said that before meeting with top Slovene police officials, Cengic had met with Kucan who insisted that they help Cengic as much as possible. The disclosure of Slovenia's indirect involvement in the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, despite the 1991 U.N. Security Council resolution banning arms deliveries to all of the former Yugoslavia, will doubtless acquire international dimensions.

Brejc was categorical about 'Slovenia having sent to Bosnia large quantities of arms,' this being so far the strongest condemnation of Slovene political leader's tactics in fanning the Bosnia civil war and proof that Slovenia violated the U.N. arms ban.

Brejc insisted that it should be clearly established who had given the orders and who had carried them out. He asked why an investigation into Kucan's role in supplying the Bosnian Muslims with arms had not been initiated.

Unofficial sources estimate that Slovenia's profit from these dealings since 1991 amounts to over two billion dollars. It is uncertain, however, how much of this sum has found its way to the Defense Ministry treasury and how much has been pocketed by the top and other 'bosses' in Slovenia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Further disclosures will probably trigger reactions by hidden participants in stoking up the Bosnia civil war. These are primarily politicians, not only Slovene, but also very influential politicians from Austria, Germany, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and other countries, both in Europe and elsewhere, where many threads of organized arms deliveries to the Bosnian Muslims lead.

Minister Outlines PRC Interest in Slovene S&T

AU1702084495 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 16 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A Slovene Ministry for Science and Technology [S&T] delegation led by Dr. Rado Bohinc, after a successful visit to China, arrived for a visit to South Korea today. In the conclusive talks with representatives of the Chinese Ministry for Science and Chinese scientists, they agreed on additional projects beside those envisaged in an agreement on scientific and technological cooperation that was signed in Ljubljana a year and a half ago. From Seoul, Minister Rado Bohinc made the following statement for Radio Slovenia:

[Begin recording] Let me first quote an assessment of today's CHINA DAILY, which reports on the talks of Prime Minister Drnovsek with the PRC president and in which it is stated that beside trade, science and technology is the most promising sphere of cooperation between Slovenia and China.

Generally speaking, science and technology was often emphasized in the talks at the highest level, for example in the talks with Li Peng and with Foreign Trade Minister Wu Li, when it was stressed that scientific and technological cooperation is an important mechanism for increased trade.

Premier Li Peng was especially interested in the possibilities for cooperation in the sphere of optical electronics and telecommunications. We presented him with a general review of the Slovene research potential as well as a proposal to include China in the international center for cooperation in the public sector.

Today, we completed the final talks with the representatives of the Chinese ministry and the Chinese scientists and agreed on the following. In the coming week a mixed scientific-technological committee will determine the text of an interstate protocol on industrial property

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rights based on the principles that we have agreed, namely, the principle of partnership and the regulation of rights on the basis of an agreement. We also agreed to speed up cooperation in the organized presentation of new technologies on both sides. The Chinese side invited two or three specialized teams from Slovenia, from fields that were added as potentially interesting for cooperation, for a visit to agree on new projects. These spheres are, primarily, nuclear physics and security systems, and within the nuclear sphere, molecular biology, high energy physics, robotics, bio-cybernetics, and special materials.

Discussion With Croat Officials on Krsko Plant

AU1702201295 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 17 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovene and Croatian Economics Ministers Maks Tajnikar and Nadan Vidosevic met at Krsko nuclear power plant this morning. They drafted some bases for further negotiations about the legal and property status of the nuclear power plant. Ilinka Todorovski reports from Krsko:

[Begin recording] As a part of preparations for the impending meeting of the Slovene and Croatian prime ministers, the ministers in charge of economic affairs met today. As it seems, the only topic of the talks behind closed doors was the legal and property status of the Krsko nuclear power plant. In very tongue-tied statements after a one-hour meeting, Ministers Tajnikar and Vidosevic confirmed that they had again raised the issue of property and property transformation and tried to agree on new negotiating bases. We were told that numerous controversial issues still exist, however, that the following was undisputed: Slovenia acknowledges the funds that the Croatian power industry invested in the construction of the nuclear power plant and also recognizes Croatia's property rights. Slovenia will not insist at all cost on a majority property share because the plant was built for the needs of both countries.

Ministers today also agreed on the necessity to make certain investments and on the dismantling.

As for the property issue, the Slovene minister today proposed an universal approach for the recognition of property rights for social capital, therefore, a principle that would be applied in treatment of all Slovene property in Croatia and vice versa. Croatian Minister Vidosevic will immediately consult the experts at home and primarily the Justice Ministry about the proposal.

Regarding the process of the nuclear plant's closure, Minister Vidosevic announced a special meeting that is supposed to lead to an agreement about the Croatian role in the dismantling and management of the funds collected for this purpose. As regards the issues that remain controversial, the incumbent ministers will discuss them on at least once further occasion before the March meeting of the Slovene and Croatian prime ministers. [end recording]

Thaler Criticizes Austria Over Minorities Policy

AU2002185495 Vienna KURIER in German 20 Feb 95 p 4

[Article by Walter Friedl: "Slovene Foreign Minister Criticizes Austria"]

[FBIS Translated Text] He is the youngest foreign minister in Slovenia's young history. Full of energy, 33-year-old Zoran Thaler, who has been in office since 26 January 1995, has pursued two large goals: EU membership and the improvement of relations with neighboring countries. With active diplomatic travelling, which will also bring him to Vienna tomorrow, 21 February, he is creating publicity for his policy, which he expounds in detail in a KURIER interview.

Relations with Austria are basically good, he says, with one exception: "The problems of the Slovene minority in Carinthia have not yet been solved satisfactorily," Thaler stresses. The fatal attack on the ethnic group of Romanies and the attacks against Croats in Burgenland as well as against the bilingual school in Klagenfurt (in which a security official lost both his forearms) must be considered a challenge to Austria.

"However, I do not see much progress. I do not see why the Slovenes in Carinthia should not receive our television channel. In our country, we can of course receive ORF 1 and ORF 2," says Thaler, who intends to raise these points in a meeting with Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock on 21 February.

Another important point of the meeting will be Slovenia's planned EU membership, for which Thaler has already made successful publicity in Germany and Italy.

"The prospects are good. German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel has promised full support. Not even Italy objects any more. The issue of the return of former Italian property in Slovenia will be negotiated separately. I am expecting colleague Mock to promote our EU ambitions as well," Zoran Thaler says optimistically.

He believes that Slovenia will join the EU along with Croatia and Hungary, which the foreign minister has also visited during his short period in office, the Czech Republic and Slovakia (the Visegrad Group), as well as the Baltic states.

Defense Ministry Purchases 3 Training Aircraft

AU2102101295 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 18 Feb 95 p 2

[Article by Vladimir Vodusek: "Defense Ministry Purchased Three Used Multipurpose Pilatus Aircraft"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ljubljana 17 February—The Defense Ministry today presented a project of purchase of three training aircraft [Pilatus PC 9], intended for the training of military pilots. The value of the aircraft is $9.2 million, or, on average, a little more than $3 million

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each. The negotiations lasted several months. According to Defense Minister Kacin, the purchase is important because it is difficult to obtain equipment that "resembles military equipment in the slightest" from Switzerland and, for this reason, Swiss Government approval we needed. The aircraft are expected to arrive at Brnik Airport in two to three weeks, depending on the takeover procedure. It is not possible to receive them until the credit agreement is signed.

The Defense Ministry purchased used aircraft that had been used for demonstrations and had been tested in the United States for a few months. Because the aircraft in question are used, the defense minister claims, we managed to agree a very favorable price; for the price of two new aircraft, we got three used ones instead, although their warranty begins with the delivery date. The purchase does not only involve aircraft, but also the equipment for their maintenance, the pilots's equipment for combat flights, as well as the training of pilots and technicians.

The negotiations lasted for several months and, regarding crediting, ended up favorably for us. These are multipurpose training and, to a limited degree, also combat aircraft that will remain in use until the year 2001. Once the arms embargo on our country is lifted, the three aircraft will also get various indicators, combat loads, and combat load holders, which will facilitate combat training. [passage omitted]

Assessment of Progress in Property Transformation

AU2102105295

[FBIS Editorial Report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene in its 15 February issue on page 3 carries a report by Silva Ceh about the news conference by Mira Puc, director of the Privatization Agency, and her assistants, who presented some data about the progress of the property transformation in Slovenia.

The final number of privatization programs received by the Privatization Agency before the expiry date was 1,395. The agency has already approved 541 programs, which all together add up to 313 billion Slovene tolars worth of public capital, and whose enterprises employ 116,700 employees. As Puc says, the Agency decided to carry out valuations in 203 of these cases, and 136 of them have already obtained the second approval.

Reportedly, 90 enterprises so far have lost the right of an independent choice of privatization program, and this figure is not final yet. As the director says, the identification of such enterprises is a very painstaking task because "statistical, court, and similar evidence about companies is deficient or worthless," while at the same time "numerous companies failed to adjust themselves to the legislation over the last few years" and there are still numerous entities that do not know how to privatize themselves. "If these companies will remain uncooperative after the expiry of certain deadlines, the Agency will decide for a direct sale of their shares," the director warns.

According to Puc, the Agency is currently reviewing 796 programs of property transformation. The approval process has slowed down considerably in 1995, also because numerous companies that had forwarded their privatization programs have unresolved denationalization claims against them.

At the news conference, the Agency's deputy director, Jaklin, stated that the "true value of the public capital" in Slovenia will only be known once all privatization programs are reviewed, however, that it would probably range between 987 to 950 billion Slovene tolars.

An accompanying pie charts show that the majority of privatization programs forwarded so far, 42 percent, came from Ljubljana, followed by Maribor (14 percent), Kranj and Celje (11 percent), Koper (7 percent), Novo Mesto (6 percent), Nova Gorica (5 percent), and Murska Sobota (4 percent).

A breakdown according to the activity shows that the majority of programs were submitted by enterprises in industry and mining (32 percent), trade and finance (14 percent), and artisanship and personal services (10 percent). The least programs arrived from entities in health care, agriculture, fishing (1 percent), and the water industry (0 percent).

The agency also reviewed a list of companies that, according to the public attorney's data, became the property of the Development Fund as of 1 January. These are the enterprises against which the public attorney maintained charges (that originated from the audit of their privatization) and whose capital now belongs to the Development Fund. Director Puc admitted that Privatization Agency's register of such companies differs from the attorney's. Namely, the attorney pressed charges against enterprises as well as their daughter companies, however, the capital of the daughter companies legally cannot become the property of the fund.

Asked about the way in which the Agency determines privatization deadlines for enterprises that are undergoing the audit of privatization because the depletion of public capital is suspected, Director Puc explains that, in enterprises that passed the audit, the privatization deadline begins with the date of the receipt of an adequate report by the Agency for Payment Operations. In cases where the depletion of public capital has been established, this deadline begins with the date of the compensation of the damage. In cases where no compensation has been made, the Agency is trying to accomplish it. However, she says, when this is legally or technically impossible, for example, when stocks of such an enterprise are already on the market, the enterprise becomes the property of the Development Fund.

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Federal

Kozyrev: Russia To Try To End Sanctions

LD1702210695 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 17 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 17 Feb (TANJUG)—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said this evening, on his arrival for talks with Slobodan Milosevic, that he has not come to Belgrade in order to persuade the Serbian president to recognize Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

Speaking about the sanctions, Kozyrev stressed that Russia "has continued to work on preparations for lifting the sanctions against Yugoslavia," as confirmed by the recent visit to Yugoslavia of a high-ranking Russian state delegation.

Asked by a journalist whether this means that Russia is prepared to unilaterally lift the sanctions, Kozyrev said: "Many people in Russia approve of the unilateral lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia and many intend to do it. From the moral point of view I too am not satisfied about the sanctions against Yugoslavia, because Belgrade has met all the demands. However, Russia will continue to adhere to the UN Security Council resolutions relating to sanctions, but it will do everything in its power to see that they are abolished as soon as possible."

Milosevic-Kozyrev Talks

LD1902140395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1228 GMT 19 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 19 Feb (TANJUG)—The abolition of sanctions is undoubtedly the first and unavoidable step toward a final settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said during talks held in Karadjordjevo this weekend.

The president's office reported that during the meeting, which took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, there was an extensive exchange of views on bilateral relations and topical international issues, especially those linked with peace efforts in the former Yugoslavia.

Both sides expressed satisfaction over the positive and dynamic development of bilateral cooperation between Yugoslavia and Russia in all spheres, and laid emphasis on a joint long-term interest in its promotion and expansion. They also confirmed great possibilities and joint readiness for the consolidation of economic ties and economic cooperation between Serbia and Russia. A successful development of this cooperation was seen as a contribution to the consolidation of peace and stability in the region.

Minister Kozyrev said the Russian side highly values the consistently peaceful policy conducted by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the key role it is playing in the current peace process. In this context both sides agreed that if the sanctions remain in effect any longer they will directly jeopardize the peace efforts and further complicate the crisis. In the opinion of both Milosevic and Kozyrev, the present situation is such that the international community should base all its future efforts for the consolidation of the peace process above all on equality of respect for and treatment of all sides in the Yugoslav crisis.

The talks between President Milosevic and Minister Kozyrev were also attended by their aides; on the Russian side this included ambassadors Gennadiy Shikin and Aleksandr Zotov, and on our side Foreign Minister Aleksandar Jovanovic and Goran Milinovic, head of the president's office.

Kozyrev Comments on Talks

AU1902174295 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Feb 95

[Statement by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev at a news conference at Belgrade Airport Batajnica on 19 February—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Begin Kozyrev recording in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] The essence of our approach consists of the following: All recent events have demonstrated the central role of President Milosevic, Serbia, and the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] as a factor in the political peace process. Since the Contact Group's plan has been accepted, this factor has been working for peace. Unfortunately, the Contact Group and the Security Council have not reacted adequately. In essence, [words indistinct] not been supported.

One resolution was adopted in September, and this resolution only symbolically eases the sanctions on air traffic, culture, and sport links, and that is it. Since then, not exactly well-thought-out steps have been taken to circumvent Belgrade. And yet, everyone is now concerned that the cease-fire could end and that a new war could begin in Bosnia. Croatia is talking about the need for UN forces to leave its territory, after which, a war would start in Croatia, and this is why people think something should be done.

We also take the view that something should be done. We have our ideas on that and have briefed President Milosevic. These ideas are also being discussed in the Contact Group. However, it is clear that all this must be accompanied with steps that would lead to the lifting of the sanctions. Otherwise, what happens is that we have new conditions and demands being set without the adequate reaction. One cannot count on the Serbian leadership to act without enjoying support. It will act, and this is a very important result of our talks. I am now sure about one thing, and that is that the leadership of Yugoslavia is committed to peace and that, despite everything, it will continue the policy that serves peace.

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Peace is not something to be bargained about. The peace path that Belgrade is pursuing is not a subject of bargaining, but is a principled policy. We will make the right move and you will give us something in return. This is something else. What this is about is that Belgrade's efforts to find peace will be more effective if the Contact Group were to help them in that by lifting the sanctions.

The question of trust in the Contact Group is another matter. This is where the essence lies. We discussed all issues concerning the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the peace plan's implementation, and all issues concerning the settlement of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

We take the view that the French initiative falls within the framework of a comprehensive solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. This is also Russia's position. Of course, this initiative is in a way starting from the end, that is, mutual recognition of the republics. This is something we all want, and this refers to Russia, too. Moscow is in favor of unconditional recognition, and this is why we assessed the French initiative positively. [end recording]

Jovanovic Satisfied With Talks

AU1902160495 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Feb 95

[Report on statement and news conference by Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic following Milosevic-Kozyrev talks in Belgrade on 19 February—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Jovanovic] We are very satisfied with the talks that Mr. Minister [Kozyrev] held with President Milosevic. These talks represent tradition, an established practice, and an exchange of views on bilateral and current issues concerning international relations, particularly those regarding our region.

In this sense, we concluded that our bilateral relations are developing harmoniously and successfully, noting that there are both institutional and (?real) successes. We are looking at [word indistinct] development of these relations and comprehensive cooperation with confidence. We are convinced that such a development of relations serves the interests of peace and stability in this region.

The president and the minister thoroughly exchanged views on the current international issues, especially those concerning the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis. Here, too, we concluded that there is a high degree of accord in our views, because both policies fully strive for peace [words indistinct] policies that strive for solving problems on the basis of equal treatment of all factors in the Yugoslav crisis, and, of course, on the basis of equality in the positions of these factors.

We also underlined that keeping sanctions further (?hinders) and threatens the peace process, as they represent a significant obstacle to both peace and the establishing of an equal status of Yugoslavia within this process. Therefore, we are (?strong factors) in this peace process, and what the minister said, Yugoslavia and its policy of peace are principled [words indistinct]. We remain consistent to this policy, regardless of what kind of attitude others take.

We must say that we are not satisfied with the attitudes of the others. Their response to our policy of peace and efforts is inadequate, to say the least. We still believe that other important factors in the international community, especially those in the Contact Group, will realize this soon, and that they will in this way better help the negotiating process and facilitate the speedy return of peace instead of adhering to an anachronic, obsolete, absurd, and counterproductive policy of keeping sanctions at any cost.

[Correspondent] Minister Jovanovic then answered the question whether any new ideas concerning the peace process were presented during the talks between President Milosevic and Minister Kozyrev.

[Jovanovic] There do not have to be any new ideas since relationships that represent current reality in solving the Yugoslav crisis have been firmly set. In that sense, we concluded that we hold identical views that peace must be preserved and that the peace option is without an alternative, and that this binds all those taking part in the process to respect all the partners.

Yugoslavia, as a key member in the peace process, cannot be at the same time treated as the key and an unequal member but as a partner who has the same and recognized status as other partners. Therefore, the question of retaining sanctions further is a vital question for this (?vital) process itself, and the key question as to whether peace will come to this region now, soon, or much later, and perhaps in much more difficult conditions than now.

[Correspondent] Will Yugoslavia recognize the former Yugoslav republics in a relatively short period of time? This was the next question by a Russian correspondent to Minister Jovanovic.

[Jovanovic] This question has not been controversial for us from the beginning of the Yugoslav crisis because we took a clear stand at the beginning of The Hague conference and in our constitutional declaration of 27 April 1992. We do not have territorial pretensions; we are prepared to recognize the republics that have seceded as independent states when a political solution has been found to the problems that came about as a result of their unilateral—or should I say, illegal—way of leaving Yugoslavia. All this time we have been trying to solve these problems in the way that would suit the legitimate interests of all sides. This has been confirmed by a number of positive acts by the Yugoslav side, including our principled stand at The Hague conference, including the fact that we have accepted and supported all five peace proposals regarding Bosnia-Herzegovina,

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including the fact that we initiated and accepted the Vance plan, and the fact that we initiated and considerable helped the acceptance and realization of the three-stage process of negotiations between Knin and Zagreb within the framework of the Vance plan.

Therefore, a country that has been striving for a political solution so much and that has given so much cannot be blamed for a lack of goodwill or cooperativeness. We would very much like to solve as soon as possible these problems that came as a result of unilateral secession of these republics. There will be no problems then to embark on this so-called mutual recognition, although even then this mutual recognition would not mean the same to us and to the others. They need our recognition, we do not need theirs. However, they have to extend to us the same rights that they have used up. They have opted to leave Yugoslavia; we have confirmed our loyalty to Yugoslavia and have stayed in it as a continual state.

Confusion Over Talks Noted

LD2002150095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1355 GMT 20 Feb 95

["Pool" item by Stevan Cordas]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Feb. 20 (TANJUG)—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev confirmed after the talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic over the weekend that the maximum degree of cooperation shown by Belgrade in the quest of a solution to the crisis in the Former Yugoslavia had not met with adequate responses in the world.

Yugoslavia has upheld all the peace plans proposed by the international community for the resolution of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina and of the overall crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

A fact nobody in the world can deny is that Yugoslavia has upheld the Cutileiro, Vance-Owen, Owen-Stoltenberg, European Union and 'Contact Group' plans for Bosnia-Herzegovina in the given order. Yugoslavia has also upheld the Vance plan for a three-stage solution to the conflict between Krajina and Croatia.

The plan calls for the cessation of hostilities, the normalization of economic ties and an accord on a political solution to relations between the republic of Serb Krajina—proclaimed by the local Serbs in 1991 after Croatia launched a war of secession from the former Yugoslavia—and Croatia.

Nobody can either dispute the fact that Belgrade has met all the set conditions for the lifting of the sanctions introduced against it under U.N. Security Council Resolution 757, because of alleged Yugoslav involvement in the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

At a time when the lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia definitely appeared to be a logical step, a new initiative was launched in an attempt to impose the recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia and the acknowledgement of the 'Zagreb Four' plan for a solution to Krajina-Croatia relations as additional conditions for the lifting of the sanctions.

The reply to the question by world media on the Milosevic-Kozyrev talks—whether Belgrade would accept the proposal on recognition of the breakaway republics—was supplied by Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic:

'As far as we are concerned, this question has not been in dispute from the outset of the Yugoslav crisis, because we adopted a clear stand in our constitutional declaration—we harbor no territorial pretensions. We are prepared to recognize the breakaway republics as independent states when a political solution is found for the problems which emerged as a result of the unilateral and illegal manner in which they left Yugoslavia.'

The detail which attracts the attention of world media in the context of the talks is the dilemma in whose name did Kozyrev hold talks with Milosevic.

At the time of his arrival to Belgrade, it was set out that he would conduct the talks on behalf of the 'Contact Group.' After his statements, which, according to the initial reactions, Washington failed to appreciate, it is now assessed that he conducted the talks in his own name.

The talks resolved the key dilemma, which clearly so far existed only in the Contact Group—in what order should the moves be taken so as to find an acceptable solution to both the Bosnia conflict and the conflict between Zagreb and Knin.

Belgrade is categorical—first the lifting of sanctions, and then everything else. The lifting of sanctions would restore to it a position of equality with other protagonists in the peace process, because the problem of the Yugoslav crisis cannot be resolved as long as the sanctions are maintained.

Judging from Kozyrev's statements before and after the talks with President Milosevic, Moscow endorsed such a stand. The Russians also oppose imposing new conditions for the lifting of sanctions.

So, whoever indeed wants peace on the territory of the former Yugoslavia must also take this into account. The Russians have practically already taken a stand on this. It is now the remaining four's (U.S., Great Britain, France and Germany) turn.

U.S. Disapproval Noted

LD2002125595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1153 GMT 20 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Washington, Feb. 20 (TANJUG)—There have been no official reactions in Washington to the talks held over the weekend between

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Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, but unofficial statements reflect dissatisfaction with Kozyrev's 'interpretation' of the Contact Group Paris paper.

TV and radio stations have quoted a U.S. source, which they did not identify, as saying that Kozyrev's statement on the conditions for the lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia was his personal interpretation.

Sources close to the State Department maintain that there is no need at this point for official comments on the two-day talks between Milosevic and Kozyrev.

The sources say the U.S. Administration will review the prospects of the proposed international 'Contact Group' plan after the Contact Group representatives' upcoming talks in Belgrade, in which the U.S. side will be represented by Robert Frasure.

The five-member Contact Group has offered to Yugoslavia a partial suspension of the sanctions introduced against it in late May 1992 in return for its recognition of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina within borders which were their administrative boundaries within the former Yugoslav Federation.

Commenting the set conditions after a meeting with Kozyrev, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said Yugoslavia had from the onset of the crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia expressed readiness to recognize 'the breakaway republics as independent states when political solutions are reached to the problems created by their unilateral, i.e. illegal breakaway from the former Yugoslavia.'

It is not believed in official U.S. circles that Yugoslavia will accept the set conditions for a partial suspension of the sanctions.

U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher has said in Congress that the recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Serbia would be a 'difficult step' but the Paris platform was the only alternative at a time when there was a danger of the outbreak of a larger scale conflict.

Serbia

UN Approval for Russian Natural Gas Welcomed

AU1802213695 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 18 Feb 95

[Interview with Serbian Deputy Prime Minister Svetozar Krstic by Lidija Duvacic in Belgrade; date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] The UN Committee for Sanctions last night approved the export of Russian natural gas for humanitarian purposes to Yugoslavia. The committee met the Russian request to export 132.4 million cubic meters of natural gas a month, starting with the day that the gas actually arrives.

[Duvacic] How do you feel about the committee's decision to allow Yugoslavia to import Russian natural gas, and what does this decision specifically mean to us?

[Krstic] The decision approving the import of Russian natural gas is important for us for several reasons. First, it shows a change in the international community's attitude toward the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] and Serbia, and generally toward the settlement of the problems in the former Yugoslavia. On the other hand, it shows the international community's indirect admission that it was not right when it did not allow the import of natural gas for humanitarian purposes earlier, in October, when this was requested, but is doing it with a delay.

In any case, this gas will significantly improve the final stage in the heating season and facilitate better heating in towns. On the other hand, it will facilitate a better supply of other sources of energy, since certain energy sources used for heating will now be redirected. We will be able to use oil products primarily in agriculture. What is particularly important is that the import of gas will facilitate a better utilization of industrial plants, especially fertilizer production. This will in turn facilitate considerably better preparations for spring sowing, which is starting earlier owing to the weather conditions. With the arrival of the gas, we are much better prepared for it than we were before.

Montenegro

Bulatovic Says Lifting of Sanctions Key to Peace

AU1702165295 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Feb 95

["Excerpts" from an interview with Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic, by unidentified reporter of Television Politika; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Bulatovic] Unfortunately, nothing has changed essentially since August. I am afraid that the situation has only become more unfavorable for the Serbian side, that is, for the Srpska republic. I fear that too many people died during this period, that territories were lost, and that the entire concept and program that set the Serbs in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina in motion could have been realized much more successfully by accepting the Contact Group plan as the basis for further talks and negotiations.

Insofar as the circumstances permit we are maintaining contact, we are trying to understand and monitor what is happening in the Srpska republic. Sincerely speaking, I am rather concerned. I try to acknowledge the fact that the war has impaired realistic comprehension of the reality by these people. However, I am afraid that for the time being they still lack a significant political strength and determination to protect the vital state and national interests of the Srpska republic through negotiations.

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I am even afraid that the world does not understand why this is happening, and sincerely speaking, I myself am not quite clear why everything that has already been conquered and gained on these territories is being risked for some possible gain that is not even defined.

[Unidentified reporter] How much do you think the picture about the situation on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina has recently changed in the world? How does the world react now?

[Bulatovic] I do not think that anything substantial has changed. I believe that there are permanent interests and a need to end this war nevertheless. I believe that the main protagonists of this war have become exhausted and I am afraid that if we do not accept the peace plan, we have in store a year or more of small-scale, local skirmishes and low intensity combat which will merely ruin all sides in the conflict and at the same time push this entire region years backwards. You see, experience tells us that a year of war means ten years backward in peacetime.

[Unidentified reporter] What do you think of our recent diplomatic initiatives? It seems that even some who used to be big adversaries of the Serbs and the Serbian people, if one can say so, now appear to be the initiators of some new peace missions that would benefit the Serbs. There have been indications from Washington, Germany, and so forth. How do you assess this?

[Bulatovic] The issue of sanctions is truly the key element that will absolutely contribute to the restoration of peace on the territories of the former Yugoslavia. We have always and everywhere used the opportunity to put forward a logical conclusion that once the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro are lifted, Mr. Izetbegovic and his followers will lose faith that the Srpska republic will be economically exhausted and that this will form the basis for their military defeat. If this same understanding reaches the conscience of the politicians in the Republic of Croatia then we can search for a solution that will be based on equality. Now, everybody is waiting for Serbia and Montenegro to become economically exhausted so that they can get their piece of the cake. However, we are much more vigorous than our adversaries believe.

[Unidentified reporter] How do you generally cooperate with Serbian President Milosevic?

[Bulatovic] Outstandingly. I am always asked this. I had an opportunity and a chance to cooperate extremely well with the Serbian president in the most dramatic moment. I believe that this is a lucky circumstance for Montenegro and Serbia. Our stance is simply that a mandate entrusted to us by citizens binds us to a good cooperation.

Kosovo

Rugova Condemns Violence, Demands Recognition

AU1702202395 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 17 Feb 95

[Telephone report by Shaban Arifaj from Pristina]

[FBIS Translated Text] At today's news conference, the president of the Republic of Kosova, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, considered the situation in Kosova to be extremely grave and dangerous. We understand the steps undertaken by the international community on Bosnia as steps taken only to stop the war, because in order to reach a broader agreement, a conference is needed in which all former federal units and the foci of crisis—such as Kosova—are to participate, if we want to prevent and stop the war in the Balkans, President Rugova said.

[Arifaj] A new wave of repression over the last week was marked by murders and abuses, as well as by other forms of daily violence in Kosova, the president of the Republic of Kosova, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, said at the beginning of today's regular news conference.

The killing of Ali Obria and the wounding of five other citizens by a Serbian policeman and the terrorizing of several others, together with gatherings by large police and military forces, represent a dangerous situation in Kosova.

The case of murder is a provocation against the Albanian resistance and stand, thus creating total insecurity among the citizens.

Rugova said that the armed reaction of the killer policeman shows that they feel themselves to be in a foreign land in Kosova, that is why they are traumatized and commit frenzied acts.

President Rugova went on to say that, for Kosova, we demand neither a bloody political solution, nor a status quo that would be dangerous for Kosova and the entire region. That is why we appeal to the international community to undertake concrete steps to reward the contribution of the Albanians and that of Kosova to achieve stability in the region. Talking about the daily repression, President Rugova singled out some grave provocations—the abuse of an Albanian woman by a Serbian policeman in Gjilan and Serbian police interventions in several communes in Kosova.

After reiterating the demand for the release of all Albanian prisoners, Dr. Rugova attracted the attention to the hunger strike of the Albanian prisoners in Nish and demanded their return to Kosova.

In the framework of the systematic repression in Kosova, Rugova condemned the campaign of colonization and stressed that the leadership of Kosova has made several appeals to the international community.

Rugova then spoke about the presence of Kosova on the international scene and reiterated his stance on the organization of an international conference in which all the units of the former Yugoslavia would take part, including Kosova, which simultaneously should be a condition for the lifting of the sanctions against Belgrade. On this occasion, President Rugova demanded the recognition of Kosova and its protection by the international community.

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Meanwhile, answering a question regarding the current reactions of the Albanian population against the latest cases that occurred in Kosova, Rugova said that uncontrolled reactions would not be allowed, as they could be dangerous under these circumstances.

Rugova also answered other questions by reporters.

More From Rugova

AU1702210895 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 17 Feb 95 No 555

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President of the Republic of Kosova, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, said in his press conference today in Prishtina, that the large and heavy military and police buildup in Kosova is dangerous. The killing of one and wounding of five citizens by a Serb policeman on Wednesday is a proof to it, President Rugova added. He conveyed his condolences to the family of Ali Obrinja on the death of their beloved, and wished fast recovery to the wounded citizens.

President Rugova said the Serbian interpretation of this criminal act as an incident is "not serious." "This act is a grave provocation against the Albanian resistance and endurance. There is a total insecurity which affects all citizens of Kosova," Dr. Rugova underscored. The action of the Serb policeman proves that the Serbian policemen feel themselves to be strangers in Kosova, and that's why they get traumatized and commit uncontrolled acts, President Rugova said.

"We demand a political solution to the Kosova issue, not a blood-stained solution, but also not a solution through a status quo which would threaten Albanians, Serbs and the region," Dr.Rugova said and stressed out that "Kosova issue cannot be solved with any blitzkrieg either."

President Rugova appealed on the international community to undertake concrete steps to reward the contribution of Albanians and Kosova to the stability in the region. Continuing, Dr. Rugova called the rape of an Albanian woman by a Serb policeman a "grave provocation."

Speaking on everyday repression, he said that there were dozens of arbitrary interventions of the Serbian police in the Albanian homes and institutions throughout Kosova.

President Rugova recalled institution of criminal charges against 44 former Kosova policeman from Suhareka, Rahovec, Dragash, and Prizren, including Mr. Sezair Shaipi, chairman of the Prizren-based Turkish People's Party. He also warned on the hunger strike of Albanian political prisoners in the Nis prison, calling for their return in Kosova, because their lives are threatened in the prisons in Serbia. He repeated his call for immediate release of all Albanian prisoners.

Dr. Rugova condemned the Serbian campaign for the colonization of Kosova. He said the Kosova leadership has urged international [words indistinct] take action against the colonization campaign. Repression is a well-known pattern Serbs resort to, whenever a possible dialogue is discussed, President Rugova underscored, and warned the Serb citizens in Kosova think twice before they undertake anything that may provoke Albanians, because they have to live together.

Continuing, President Rugova commented on the idea of a new international conference on former Yugoslavia, and reiterated the stance that all units of former Yugoslav federation, including Kosova, must participate on an equal footing. "We are not in favor of any partial conference. We view the steps that may be undertaken in Bosnia as efforts to bring the ongoing war to an end, whereas for a capital and comprehensive agreement, a conference with the participation of all units, addressing all the crises, is needed if we want to prevent war in the Balkans," President Rugova said.

Dr. Rugova said Kosova, along with other units of former Yugoslavia, must be a condition for the lifting of sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro, and called for international recognition of the Republic of Kosova, referring to a recent offer for the suspension of sanctions on Serbia if it recognized the newly emerged states in the Balkans.

Asked whether there will be any moves by the international community to stop repression in Kosova, President Rugova said: "We have been living for quite some years in total insecurity. International community is aware of that. It is a widely known fact that we are unprotected in Kosova. A conflict which would spread in the entire region must be prevented."

Rugova Condemns 'Brutal' Attack in Tetovo

AU1902154495 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 18 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kosovar President Ibrahim Rugova has issued a public statement condemning the police intervention at Tetovo University and has demanded that the problems in Tetovo and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] be resolved through talks and understanding.

In his statement, President Rugova states:

We condemn the intervention by the Macedonian police into the mass of peaceful demonstrators in front of the Tetovo University buildings, resulting in one dead and many wounded. This is a brutal act that does not contribute to interethnic relations in Macedonia. The Kosovar people are indignant at the Tetovo intervention, which is why we ask the Macedonian authorities to immediately cease such actions that could destabilize Macedonia and our region. We also urge that the Albanian demands be resolved through talks and understanding.

In his statement, President Rugova also demands the immediate release of Tetovo University Rector Dr. Fadil Sulejmani and other activists.

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On behalf of the Kosovar people, President Rugova conveyed his deepest sympathies to the family of victim Abdyl Selami.

In conclusion the statement calls on the European Union and the United States to put pressure on the Macedonian authorities so that the Albanian demands are resolved without violence.

Rugova Sends Letter to Gligorov

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[FBIS Translated Text] Kosovar President Ibrahim Rugova sent a letter today to Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] President Kiro Gligorov, urging him to explain the clash at Tetovo University.

President Rugova has also demanded that Tetovo University be allowed to function and that the university be registered as soon as possible since there are no constitutional obstacles.

In the letter, President Rugova asks that the Albanians' demands be resolved through political means, as this will help relations between Kosova and Macedonia and the Albanian people in general.

LDK Indignant Over Attack

AU1902155195 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 18 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Presidency of the Democratic League of Kosova [LDK] has issued a communique condemning yesterday's intervention of Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] forces against Tetovo University and Albanian citizens. The LDK Presidency expresses its worry and deep indignation at the bloody intervention by Macedonian forces at Tetovo University on 17 February. This brutal intervention by Macedonian military and police forces against Tetovo University and the population, which resulted in dead, wounded, and arrested, constitutes not only an anticivilized but also extremely dangerous act for Macedonia and the peace in the region.

The LDK Presidency communique states that such actions in this part of the Balkans find explanation only in the chauvinist blindness that have caused and continues to cause harm to peace, democracy, and the emancipation of the peoples of this region.

At a time when Macedonia is trying to be integrated into Europe and the international organizations, in front of the eyes of the UN Protection Force, the Oganization on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Geneva conference mediator, and other foreign representatives that were there, it kills a student just because he wants to receive an education in his mother tongue.

In this communique, the LDK Presidency calls on the Macedonian leadership to review its stance against Albanian education. The LDK Presidency also calls on the international authorities to influence the Macedonian authorities to justly resolve this problem. The recognition and affirmation of the civil and national rights of Albanians in Macedonia as an equal and state-forming people are a warranty for a democratic Macedonia and constitute a contribution to the stability in the region, the LDK Presidency communique concludes.

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